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THE JOURNAL
OF
CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

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ERRATA.

Vol. i. p. 93, l. 20, for 8.75 read .875.

Vol. iii.

PAGE LINE

- 71, 13, read *ἐναντία*.
 73, n. col. 2, lin. penult. read ἀπηγγελλένον.
 79, 21, read πολλά.
 92, 26, read *υἱός*.
 96, 9, read *rendering*.
 158, n. 1, l. 2, read *per*.
 165, 19 from foot, for 161 read 162.
 166, n. 1, l. 4 from foot, read *τελευτώσαν*.
 175, 2, read Ἀντωνίου.
 237, 4, dele comma after *κτερέουεν*.
 243, 13 from foot, read *were* and *have*.
 252, 11 from foot, "*Die Briefe des Jacobus*." The work is so announced in the *Bibliographisches Jahrbuch*.
 256, 21, read *ἐπουρώσεις*.
 284, 14, read *πλῆρωτος*.
 287, 3 from foot, read *παρονομασία*.
 322, 6 from foot, read *clergyman*.
 342, 28, 34, for VI. read V.
 344, 4 from foot, read *τριών*.
 345, 20. This belongs to the emendation of *Fragm. XLIX*. in p. 344, l. 14. See Porson's *Tracts*, p. 228 seq.
 353, penult. of text, read *limitem*.
 362, The error with regard to Lobeck's conjecture is to be ascribed to Lobeck himself, who says, in the 2nd edition of his *Ajax* (v. 761, p. 344); [Hæc in ed. *Pr.* ad v. 10 adnotavi.] But neither on v. 10 nor in any other part of his first edition will the conjecture be found. The *Church of England Quarterly* in which Mr Burges published his conjectures appeared in 1840, and the reading *εὖ πῶς* is proposed in page 105, not page 101.
 363, 33, for *Lipsius* read *Lepsius*.

THE JOURNAL

OF

CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

Observations on Mr Law's "Criticism of Mr Ellis's new theory concerning the Route of Hannibal."

[Continued from Vol. II. p. 329.]

WE now come (pp. 69—75) to Mr Law's observations on Livy's narrative, and to his strictures on my interpretation of it. In pp. 70, 71, the Critic deals with the difficult passage, "*cum jam Alpes peteret, &c.*," in which he is fortunate enough to find no error, but not so fortunate in making out its correctness. In his exposition of my own views, I have not discovered any likeness to what they really are. The words, "*cum jam Alpes peteret,*" are commonly construed, he says, "when he was now standing with his back to the Isère, looking due south, and thinking of the Alps. Mr Ellis, *evidently apprehending this to be their meaning*, declares that a turn to the left would take Hannibal *up the Isère* without touching the Tricastini." I believe it is only in Mr Law's copy of my treatise that the words "*up the Isère*" are to be found. (See *Treatise*, p. 134.) Had he not there met with them, he could not possibly have imagined that, when I spoke of a march previously directed *towards the north* being resumed, I could have supposed Hannibal to be *looking due south* when on the point of turning "*ad lævam.*" I trust also, for the commentators' sake, that Mr Law is mistaken about this being the usual construction of "*cum jam Alpes peteret.*" The possibility of such a strange interpretation certainly never crossed my mind¹.

¹ My explanation of the passage, &c." rests on the supposition of a fact "*Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum,*" being misplaced in Livy's narrative.

In the next page of the Criticism, (p. 72), there is another incorrect assertion, which, as it makes its appearance in more than one part of the work, ought not perhaps to escape notice. "Mr Ellis observes, p. 138, that 'Livy omits the two days of guidance mentioned by Polybius.' He really seems quite unconscious that he has cut out those two very days himself in fabricating his own reckoning of the march." Such unconsciousness will not appear totally without excuse to any one who turns to this "fabricated reckoning." (*Treatise*, p. 64.) He will there find this passage: "2. 3. (second and third days) Hannibal proceeds on his march under the guidance of the Alpine Gauls." Mr Law's zeal has carried him here a little too far.

In p. 74 we have a pair, or even a triad, of erroneous statements in one sentence. "He (Mr Ellis) screwed Polybius down to 'less than three days' from summit to plain at the expense of contradicting himself as well as the historian: so, when Livy makes it a good seven, Mr Ellis thinks it as well to let him alone; and does not bring on the subject." Of the first or double misstatement here I have already disposed, (*ante*, p. 310). There is nothing in my treatise which bears the least resemblance to what is here alleged for the third time. There are, on the other hand, a number of passages, the whole of those in which the subject is touched upon, entirely at variance with Mr Law's assertion. It is

We learn from him that, after the passage of the Rhone, Hannibal proceeded up the river, and must consequently have turned "ad levam in Tricastinos." Livy also says that this route by the side of the Rhone was adopted "non quia rector ad Alpes via esset," an expression very nearly equivalent to "cum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit." I do not believe that such a deviation from the direct route was likely to occur twice, nor is it possible that it could have occurred "sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum." The supposition of the misplacement of a fact, especially in such a historian as Livy, will hardly appear improbable when it is considered how history is composed.

This passage in Livy under consideration,

"Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, cum jam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad levam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios."

may be compared with the passage in Cæsar,

"Compluribus his præliis pulsus, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit."

An inadvertent reader, such as Livy seems to have been, might imagine from these words of Cæsar that the contests alluded to took place before he left Ocelum, and not on the way between Ocelum and the Vocontian frontier. A similar mistake might occur in Livy's history.

upon these passages, which all agree with one another, that the charge of "self-contradiction" has to be founded. The statement that I do not bring on the subject of Livy's seven days is characterized by the same amount of accuracy as its companion. If any one will look at my treatise (pp. 144—146), he will see that I do bring on the subject, and "mediate" between Livy and Polybius. In p. 144 the subject of Livy's four days is introduced, and in p. 145 that of his three days. These together make up the seven days mentioned by Mr Law. Not one of the seven, however, was a day of marching. The four were days of road-making, and the three were days of rest. It is plain from Polybius that the four days should be reduced to three, and should include the three days, reduced to two. It was hardly worth while to deviate from Polybius here, and adopt a period of seven days where he only gives three; especially as Livy, even if his seven days be allowed, cannot be induced to abet any attempt to make out that there were more than three days of actual marching between summit and plain. This is the last of Mr Law's repeated struggles to contravene so evident a fact¹.

In my treatise (p. 146) I said that Hannibal's descent from the Alps into the country of the Taurini was mentioned by Livy as a fact universally agreed upon. To this Mr Law, referring to Livy's words, "*id cum inter omnes constet*," (xxi. 38), rejoins, (p. 75): "but these words, expressing the idea of a general assent, are applied to Hannibal's march against the Taurini, not to his entering Italy by a Taurine pass." Any attempt to affix a wrong sense to Livy's words here must be perfectly hopeless. The subject is so plain that even the introduction of the ambiguous term, "Taurine pass," cannot perplex it. Livy's words are, giving first what the historian L. Cincius Alimentus had

¹ Livy does not give the number of days of actual marching, but they may be found without difficulty. Hannibal gained the summit of the Alps on the ninth day: "*Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est*." He halted two days on the summit: "*Biduum in jugo stativa habita*." (9, 10: ten days elapsed.) He lost four days at the broken path: "*Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum*." (11, 12, 13, 14.) He afterwards gave his men three days of rest: "*Quies*

muniendo fessis hominibus dato triduo." (15, 16, 17.) He then descended to the plains, "*Inde ad planum descensum*," accomplishing the passage of the Alps in fifteen days: "*Quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis*." The time allowed by Livy for actual marching between summit and plain would thus appear to be, 15 - 17 = - 2 days. "Mr Ellis found this too strong for him, and declined to mediate."

heard from Hannibal: "*ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse, Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum. Id cum inter omnes constet*, eo magis miror ambigi quam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Penino (atque inde nomen ei jugo Alpium inditum) transgressum, Cœlium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse; *qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.*" Here it will be seen that there is not a single word about "marching against the Taurini." What Livy understood by the words, "Taurinis . . . degressum," was, not that the Taurini were in possession of the pass crossed by Hannibal, as Mr Law's "Taurine pass" might imply; but that the Alpine route of Hannibal brought him out into that part of the Italian plain which was occupied by the Taurini. This is necessarily inferred from the expressions, "*quæ Gallis proxima gens erat*," "*in Italiam*," and "*degressum*," (i. e. "Alpibus;" as we have "*degressus Apennino*," cap. 59)¹. "*Degredi Taurinis*" cannot signify "to march against the Taurini." Even Mr Ellis, "to whom a better study of the meaning of words is to be especially recommended," is aware of this. Besides, the words "*qui ambo saltus . . . deduxissent*," could leave no doubt as to what Livy meant by *id* in "*id cum inter omnes constet*." Mr Law's assertion that the march against the Taurini, or rather against Turin, mentioned by Livy in cap. 39, was alluded to by him under the word *id* in this expression, which occurs in cap. 38, has consequently no chance of obtaining credence. The Critic is, however, I am bound to avow, not entirely wrong upon this subject. The following decision which he pronounces cannot fail to command universal acquiescence. "There never was a less excusable error than that which perverts the meaning of '*id quum inter omnes constet*'."

¹ See also above (cap. 38), "*quantæ copiæ transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, &c.*"

² I need scarcely point out Mr Law's misapplication of the words, "*eo magis miror ambigi quam Alpes transierit.*" They do not imply that the descent into the Taurine country was then doubted by any one. Indeed, it required a lapse

of nearly two thousand years before the meaning of Polybius could be so strangely missed as to lead to a different supposition. Livy's argument cannot possibly be mistaken. It is this. As there was no doubt as to what part of Italy Hannibal descended into, Livy wondered that there should be any as to what part of the Alpine chain he traversed,

From the next chapter of my treatise, the chapter in which I shewed the futility of the objections brought against the Mont Cenis, Mr Law, with unusual forbearance, selects but a single subject for attack. He says, (p. 76), "There is one matter in the Oxford Dissertation which Mr Ellis resists; namely, the contrast there made between the fertility of the Isère valley, and the sterility of the Arc valley. He replies, p. 156, that it is merely a question of statistics; and proceeds to compare the population, per square kilomètre, of the *provinces* in which *the one*" (i.e. the Isère valley) "lies, with the population, per square kilomètre, of the *provinces* in which *the other*" (i.e. the Arc valley) "lies." This is rather dexterously turned. I compared the density of population in the provinces of Maurienne and Susa with that in the provinces of Tarentaise and Aosta; not the density of population in the provinces in which the Isère valley lies, (I spoke but of one), with that in the provinces in which the Arc valley lies, (there is but one). Mr Law will hardly persuade men that the province of Susa is watered by the Arc, or that of Aosta by the Isère. But his object was, to get rid on one side of the fertile and populous Combe of Susa, and to introduce on the other the equally fortunate Combe of Savoy, the valley which extends from Montmélian to L'Hôpital, but forms no part of the Tarentaise, a very different country in all respects. Nor has Mr Law, in limiting the question to one of comparative fertility, stated the case at all correctly. The Oxford author rightly supposes population and fertility to go together, instead of being distinct questions, as Mr Law would make them out to be. The former writer says, in the passage which I quoted, that "the country must have been well cultivated, and consequently full of inhabitants;" and also, in another part of his work, that "the Tarentaise is a very populous country." How would Mr Law expect me to meet this error, except by shewing that the Tarentaise is *not* a populous country?

and that it should have been supposed that he crossed the Pennine Alp or the "Cremonis jugum." That Livy should have wondered at such opinions was not unnatural. Yet he might have the same cause for wonder now.

The "Cremonis jugum" of Livy seems to be identical with the Graius

Mons, or "Alpis Graia" (Little St Bernard). If this were the "Cremonis jugum" of Cœlius, he was undoubtedly in error. Yet it must be remembered that in the time of Cœlius there were no "Alpes Cottiae." The Mont Genève and Mont Cenis would probably have been then included among the Graian Alps.

Had the writer, with critical prudence, confined himself to being "quite astonished at the richness of the Isère valley from Mont-mélian to St Maurice," (Savoie Propre, Haute Savoie, Tarentaise,) or taken refuge in any vague generalities whatever, it would have been unnecessary to enter into the question at all. This, however, he did not do, but very justly made it a matter of statistics, and as such I dealt with it. I also shewed that the province of Aosta was still more thinly populated than the Tarentaise.

But Mr Law has another hope of escape. He says that I avoid a comparison of valleys, but measure against one another mountainous extents. Now I had no means of comparing the respective densities of population in the valleys, except by comparing together the respective densities of population in the provinces. This mode of comparison may not be minutely accurate for the valleys; but it will be sufficiently so, and is at the same time the only mode possible. It must also be remembered that the four provinces I compared are all similarly circumstanced. The province of Maurienne consists, almost entirely, of the valley of the Arc with its lateral valleys; the province of Tarentaise of the Upper Val Isère with its lateral valleys; and the provinces of Aosta and Susa of the valleys of the Dora Baltea and the Dora Susina and their respective lateral valleys. Unless the main valleys of the Arc and the Dora Susina were really more densely populated than the valley of the Dora Baltea and the Upper Val Isère, I doubt whether the provinces of Maurienne and Susa could have, in density of population, the great superiority they possess over the provinces of Tarentaise and Aosta.

The question really depends on the population of these four provinces. The province of Haute Savoie, which Mr Law seems to wish to have included, does not enter into the account. For, as the passage of the Alps by the Mont Cenis is 30 miles shorter than the passage by the Little St Bernard, (the distance from the commencement of the Maurienne to that of the Italian plains at Avigliana, being no greater than the distance between the commencement of the Tarentaise and that of the plains at Ivrea), the whole length of way through the province of Haute Savoie, two days of Alpine travelling according to Hannibal's rate of marching, would be entirely spared by the route of the Mont Cenis. The province of Savoie Propre, (which would be

replaced, according to my views of the approach to the Alps, by the Graisivaudan), being common to both passes, has no effect upon the comparison.

I thus believe, chiefly on account of the greater shortness of the Alpine route by the Mont Cenis, that the Carthaginian army, if entirely dependent for provisions (as it was not) on the country through which it passed, would have suffered least from dearth by taking the route of the Mont Cenis in preference to that of the Little St Bernard. Yet I claim no advantage for the Mont Cenis on this ground. The argument built upon it I believe to be of no value whatever. At the same time, as others may think differently, I have endeavoured to overthrow this objection against the Mont Cenis; an objection that, in my own opinion, is, like another which has been much dwelt on, that derived from the alleged absence of all tradition, at once unfounded and irrelevant¹.

The last forty pages of Mr Law's Criticism are devoted to an attack on my arguments for the antiquity of the pass of the Mont Cenis. This pass is first mentioned by its modern name in the year 755². Going back therefore from this date, I endeavoured to trace the records of the existence of such a pass up to the time of Polybius, shewing finally that it must have been the *ἰνέπβασις διὰ Ταυρίνων*, which, according to Strabo, was mentioned by Polybius as the pass which Hannibal crossed. I first went back nearly two centuries to the reign of Gontran of Burgundy, citing a passage from the Appendix to the Works of Gregory of Tours to prove that Susa was then included in the diocese of Maurienne. Being fully aware that the sense of this passage could not possibly be mistaken, I must confess that I was rather

¹ See Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Italie*. All such traditions are doubtless of modern date. If preserved in the country through the dark ages, they would hardly have the sober and accurate form under which they present themselves. There is, however, in the Chronicle of La Novalèse, lib. II. (Pertz, *Monumenta Germanica*) a story about the "Mons Romuleus" (Roche Melon), and a "Romulus quidam rex *elefantiosissimus*," which, as it is remarkably extravagant, and contains nothing about

Hannibal, may not impossibly be a genuine tradition, and have derived its origin from the fact of his encampment on the Mont Cenis.

² The "Annales Laurissenses minores," A.D. 755 (!) "Annales Mettenses," 751, 754, 755, and the "Enhardi Fuldensis Annales," 753 (!) all preserved in Pertz, *Monumenta Germanica*, will shew that the pass was well known in the middle of the eighth century, and was not then first opened by Pepin.

surprised, although I had now reached the 79th page of the Criticism, to find my credit impugned on this point. Here Mr Law says: "The passage which he cites from G. of Tours is headed 'Auctoritas quod ex antiquo Morinensis ecclesia Viennensi Metropoli subdita fuit;' and in it we read 'Guntramnus rex legatos suos Moriennam direxit, qui ecclesiam inibi fabricarent, eamque perfectam episcopo Viennensi, ad cujus diœcesin pertinebat locus, sancto Isychio sacrare præcepit.'" Mr Law then adds: "Nothing is cited about *Susa* or *Turin*." Whatever merit this assertion may claim, that of accuracy must be denied it. The passage which Mr Law partially quotes was not adduced as containing anything about *Turin*: but I will leave it to be judged whether the following words in it do not bear out my statement with respect to *Susa*, although, according to Mr Law, they contain no mention at all of the name of such a place.

"Ad quam ecclesiam Morigennensem, ubi beati Johannis reliquias posuerat, *Secusiam* civitatem jamdudum ab Italis acceptam cum omnibus pagensibus ipsius loci subjectam fecit." (*Treatise*, p. 176, Note.)

Previous to the erection, or re-erection, of the bishopric of *Maurienne*, that district had been included in the diocese of *Turin*. The passage which proves this I did not think it necessary to quote, but merely referred to it. Mr Law seems to have been unwilling, by verifying the reference, to incur any danger of seeing what he was not inclined to admit. I will therefore now quote the important part of the passage referred to, which relates to a proposed transfer, by the bishop of *Turin*, of the relics just mentioned, from the *Maurienne* to that city. These words are:

"Et quia locus ille Mauriennensis ad Taurinensem quondam urbem pertinebat, tempore illo quo Rufus erat episcopus, ait Archidiaconus ejus ad eum: Non est æquum, ut hoc pignus in loco viliore teneatur. Sed surge, et illud accipe, et defer ad Taurinensem ecclesiam, quæ plus popularis habetur."

The next witness, whom I brought forward in support of the antiquity of the pass of the *Mont Cenis*, was *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who speaks of a certain terrible and dangerous descent into Italy, apparently placed by him somewhere in the long defile of *Exilles*, which separates the plain of *Susa* from the plain of *Salbertrand* and *Oulx*. As no descent at all corresponding to the

description of the historian is to be found where he probably supposed it to have been, I concluded that he might, from some cause, have been led into error as to the situation of this declivity, while I took it for granted that such a pass must have existed in the neighbourhood. I consequently endeavoured to elicit from his words the origin and nature of such an error, and was led to the conclusion that the descent from the Mont Cenis, which perfectly answers the description given, must have been the descent spoken of. Mr Law canvasses this question (pp. 79—86). The unstable ground on which he rests his objections will, I think, be detected without much difficulty, though he has confused the subject a great deal. He seems to take for granted that this fearful descent *may* be found in the defile of Exilles, where Ammianus Marcellinus appears to place it. I, who have examined the ground, know that it is not there, and therefore conclude that it must be sought elsewhere; a supposition that must be considered preferable to the assumption, which I must otherwise have made, that the whole circumstantial description, one given by a remarkably trustworthy writer, was little else than a tissue of pure inventions¹.

My next evidence for the antiquity of the pass of the Mont Cenis was derived from the Peutingerian Table. There are indicated in this Table two roads branching off from the road between Turin and Arles by the Mont Genève on the summit of that pass. One of these roads is made to arrive at Luc after a course of 46 miles, the other to reach Vienne after a course of

¹ There are several minor objections made here by Mr Law; such as, "from Salbertrand" (what has Salbertrand to do with the matter!) "to the summit of the Cenis must be twelve or thirteen miles across country as the crow flies" (p. 82); "why not as well to the Col de la Roue, which either for man or crow is nearer to Salbertrand" (Salbertrand again!) "than the Cenis?" (p. 83). These objections, at once trifling and irrelevant, have not even the merit of being correct. According to the maps published from the Sardinian Government surveys, the straight distance from Salbertrand to the Col of the Little Mont Cenis is not more than

nine English miles, while the straight distance to the Col de la Roue exceeds twelve. The path to the Col de la Roue leaves the valley of the Dora at Oulx, the upper limit of the "planities" of Ammianus. That pass has therefore not the remotest connexion with the argument. Mr Law also objects, p. 84, to what he calls the "bracketing" of the Great and Little Mont Cenis. As these passes have the same descent into Italy, and the object is to identify a descent "e Galliis," it is plain that they must be "bracketed" together, and that the Little Mont Cenis must not be joined with the ~~passes~~ Mr Law suggests.

85 miles. Both these routes are, as given in the Table, impossibilities: the author's mind was evidently under the influence of erroneous conception or imperfect knowledge. This led me to examine where the radical error lay, and to make the corrections which appeared requisite. (*Treatise*, pp. 167—177.) The conclusions at which I arrived were: that the first road laid down in the Table was the road from Gap to Luc by the Mons Gaura, the same line of road to which the stations subsequent to Luc plainly belong; and that the second road laid down in the Table was the road from Susa to Mantala by the Little Mont Cenis. Such a supposition is, in default of argument, denounced by Mr Law with his usual eloquence. I cannot, however, pause to enter into any speculations about the "blundering map-maker," whose aberrations were to be referred to "drunkenness or sleepiness," but will pass at once to the Critic's own imperative statement as to these roads (p. 88).

"We then perceive three lines: one the same as in the Itineraries, tending south-west to Embrun, Sisteron, and Arles: one to the north-west, *necessarily understood* as the way through Monestier, Bourg d'Oysans, Vizille, and Grenoble, to Vienne: and an intermediate one, *which can only be* by Val Louise, Entraigues, and Val Godemar to the Drac, and afterwards by Luc, &c. to Valence."

Mr Law had previously said, that the track of the chart *must* be apprehended as single to Briançon. There is no such necessity in the case; nor do Mr Law's two roads both branch off from the road to Arles, as he would leave it to be inferred, at Briançon. One branches off at Briançon, about five English miles below the point of divergence of the three roads in the Table; and the other at La Bessée, fifteen English miles below the same point. There is, and can be, no route striking off from Briançon intermediate to the roads leading to Monétier and Embrun. But, to waive this objection, and also to overlook the fact, that the forty-six miles of the Table must be increased to at least one hundred, who will possibly believe that this intermediate road ever followed the line indicated by Mr Law? Even he declines mentioning the course it took over the mountains between the Drac and Luc. Nothing consequently is left to except against, but the road by the Val Louise and the Val Godemar. Yet even this is more than sufficient. For the pass between these two

valleys, which is called the Col de Celar, a pass above 10,000 feet in elevation, is difficult and dangerous in a very high degree. Any one who wishes to know its character may consult Prof. Forbes' "*Norway, with Excursions in the Alps*," which I think will leave no doubt in his mind about the gross absurdity of supposing that this pass was ever traversed by a Roman road, or was even practicable in those times. However, to do Mr Law justice, he does not believe in the existence of such a road himself. In a note on the very passage which I have cited above, he says: "I do not believe that there was such a road to be recorded. But the author *must* have heard that the line had on some occasion been pursued." I am again obliged to acknowledge my incapacity of perceiving what is laid down as an imperative necessity. How came stations to be named, and distances to be given, where there was no road? How came such a line to be pursued, if there was no road to follow? How, if the Col de Celar was impassable, did the report of its having been crossed come to be heard? Finally, what reason have we to suppose that the author had the slightest knowledge of the Val Louise, Col de Celar, Val Godemar, &c.? Mr Law speaks of "the line," as if it was defined in the Table by some geographical features, such as rivers or mountains; whereas, with the exception of the distances, which are utterly disregarded, and of the names of the stations, of which nothing is said, the Table presents no more than a line drawn from the summit of the Genève to Luc, and thence to Valence.

Surely nothing can be plainer than that this road, which must have existed somewhere, is drawn in the wrong place. Nor does it appear possible that it can be meant for any other line of way than the well-known road between Gap and Luc, which would otherwise be deficient in the map¹. Mr Law's explanation (if it be meant for an explanation) of this deficiency is not profound (p. 90). "The framer of the Chart has certainly omitted to draw a line from Gap to Luc, being a line which already existed." Why this line of road, if it existed, should not have been drawn, I cannot imagine. I should have thought that was the very

¹ The irregular position of the figures (XIII.) attached to "Gerainas" ought not to be overlooked. It will be observed that they are not placed, as

usual, after the name of the station, but directly beneath it; not between "Gerainas" and "In Alpe Cottia," but between "Gerainas" and "Vapincum."

reason why it should have been drawn. That the names of the stations, "*Gerainas*," and "*Geminas*," are not found in the Itineraries, although a difficulty, hardly deserves the stress Mr Law lays upon it. There are other names which appear only in the Peutingerian Table¹.

I must now consider the second of the Peutingerian routes, the one which Mr Law says must necessarily be understood to be the route of the Lautaret, leading from Briançon to Grenoble and Vienne, but which I supposed to be the route of the Little Mont Cenis, leading to Maltaverne, and thence to Vienne². Now as, from what has been previously said in reference to the road to Luc, it must be quite certain that there is an error in the Table with respect to the point where that road is made to diverge from the road to Arles, it cannot consequently be taken for granted, as Mr Law would wish, that the second route, that to Vienne, branches off at Briançon. But indeed it is not so drawn in the Table. It is there marked plainly as striking off from the summit of the main chain of the Alps, and may therefore, as that point of divergence must be erroneous, have branched off from the Genève road either on the east or west side of that pass. Which of the two roads, the Little Mont Cenis or the Lautaret, was the road laid down in the Peutingerian Table, must be determined by the names of the stations and the distances between them. I will now therefore proceed to the consideration of the itinerary of the Lautaret given by Mr Law, who adopts the sites which were fixed upon for the Roman stations by the

¹ If we suppose the Peutingerian road to Luc to have started from Gap, we should find that the station *Gerainæ* or *Gerainas*, fourteen miles from Gap, might be identified with the modern Veyne or Veynes, which lies about sixteen miles from Gap, and which has also been identified with the *Davianum* of the Jerusalem Itinerary. The discrepancy between *Gerainas* and *Davianum* may possibly be due to inaccuracy of transcription. The *Geminæ* or *Geminas* of the Table, eighteen miles from Luc, would nearly coincide with the *Cambonum* of the same Itinerary, seventeen miles from Luc. The two names are not entirely without resemblance. The

orthography of the Peutingerian Table cannot always be implicitly trusted, and that of the Jerusalem Itinerary is sometimes capable of amendment.

² I pass over here a good deal about "a match," "Mr Ellis, as steward of the race," "running into the Edgware-road," "a steeple-chase," "Little Cenis is ordered to run to Maltaverne," "shifting the winning-post," and a quantity of the same kind of writing, which is spread over about three pages (92—95). Upon these I deem it needless to offer any observations, as they contain nothing remarkable for weight, with the exception of the efforts at humour.

great geographer whom he calls "the honest and laborious D'Anville;" a good but not infallible authority, and one that, as we shall soon see, Mr Law follows exactly as far as it suits his purpose, but no farther. It must be acknowledged, however, that though the nature of Mr Law's theories may sometimes oblige him to abandon D'Anville when the geographer is right, yet he more than atones for the defection by the inflexible constancy with which he adheres to him whenever he is wrong¹.

Before, however, proceeding to Mr Law's itinerary, I must determine the *actual* distances between his stations. These Mr Law ought to have given himself, though perhaps he may be excused for not venturing to put them by the side of the Peutingerian distances. In the case of the Little Mont Cenis, Mr Law has been equally averse from giving the Peutingerian distances, being probably aware that the same comparison, which the Lautaret cannot for a moment sustain, is almost conclusive in favour of the Little Mont Cenis.

The distances between Briançon and Grenoble are, as given in the map called "*La France en kilomètres*:" La Salle, 10 kilomètres; Le Lauzet, 11; La Grave, 17; Bourg d'Oysans, 31; Gavet, 16; Vizille, 14; Grenoble, 18. Total, 117 kilomètres = 79 Roman miles. The distance from Briançon to Monétier is, as Mr Law says, about 8 miles. This will leave about 15 miles for the distance between Monétier and Villard d'Arène, which is nearly 3 miles above La Grave. Mizouin does not lie on the modern road, but would be nearly two thirds of the way between Villard d'Arène and Bourg d'Oysans. Its distance from Villard d'Arène may thus be taken at 15 miles, which will leave 8 for the distance between Mizouin and Bourg d'Oysans. From Bourg d'Oysans to Grenoble the distance is 48 kilomètres = 33 miles. The distance between Grenoble and Moirans would be about 15 miles. The straight distance is 14 miles. The remaining two

¹ Thus Mr Law differs from D'Anville as to the position of the Uceni and Medulli, but holds with him pretty nearly as to the position of the Tricorii. Yet the Tricorii, whose position D'Anville makes dependent on the determination of Hannibal's route, are placed by

him too much to the south, because he supposed Hannibal to have crossed the Mont Genève. Strabo places the Tricorii between the Vocontii and the Medulli, i.e. between the confluence of the Drac and Isère, and the Lower Maurienne.

distances between Moirans and Vienne are slightly underrated. The straight distances between Moirans and Ornacieux, and Ornacieux and Vienne, are respectively 20 and 21 miles. The actual distances would not be less than 21 and 22 miles.

Mr Law's itinerary consequently stands thus, it being taken for granted that the route begins at Briançon.

PEUTINGERIAN STATIONS.	SUPPOSED SITES.	PEUT. DISTS.	ACTUAL DISTANCES.
Brigantione . .	Briançon.		
Stabatione . .	Monétier, or Monestier . .	VIII.	VIII.
Durotinco. . .	Villard d'Arène, or d'Arènes	VII.	XV.
Mellosedo. . .	Mizouin	X.	XV.
Catorissium . .	Bourg d'Oysans	V.	VIII.
Culabone . . .	Grenoble (Cularo)	XII.	XXXIII.
Morginno . . .	Moirans	XIV.	XV.
Turecionico . .	Ornacieux	XIV.	XXI.
Vigenna	Vienne	XV.	XXII.
	Total .	LXXXV.	CXXXVII.

The numerous and irremediable discrepancies of distance seem quite sufficient to shew the worse than doubtful character of this itinerary. One or two observations on it may, however, be advisable. One of the Peutingerian stations is called *Catorissium*, a word which, as I noticed in my treatise, is plainly the genitive of *Catorisses*, the name of a tribe, probably the same as the *Catoriges* or *Caturiges*, through whose country the road passed. This station is identified with Bourg d'Oysans: the Peutingerian measurements would make it fall in the Pays d'Oysans, though not at the Bourg. The country of the Uceni is thus found to be occupied by the Catorisses. Mr Law in his text observes a discreet silence upon this circumstance. He has, however, in his map, adopted what may have appeared to be the best expedient in such an emergency—the banishment of the Uceni from the Pays d'Oysans. Not all the exertions of the “honest and laborious D’Anville” have been able to save them from expatriation. The Caturiges also are placed above Embrun instead of below, so as to bring them nearer to the Pays d'Oysans.

Of all these sites of stations given by D’Anville, “which seem,” says Mr Law, (p. 100), “to have about the requisite distances from one another,” the average error in each case only amounting to sixty per cent, none, he confesses, “can be peremptorily asserted” to be correctly assigned, but Cularo; and

perhaps Moirans. I will therefore simply state the case for Grenoble, (Cularo), as it is on its supposed identity with the "Culabo" of the Table that the argument for the Lautaret almost entirely rests.

There is, then, in the Peutingerian Table, a station called Culabo, which, if it be taken for granted that the road on which it is found started from Briançon and terminated at Vienne, was situated at a distance of 42 miles from Briançon, and 43 miles from Vienne.

Grenoble was anciently called Cularo, and not Culabo, and is 79 miles from Briançon, and 58 miles from Vienne¹.

That the identity of Culabo and Grenoble should be "peremptorily asserted" by Mr Law does not give a very high idea of his critical discernment. Such identity is obviously all but impossible².

I now come to the route of Cæsar, whom I concluded to have crossed the Little Mont Cenis to St Jean de Maurienne,

¹ If also, as Mr Law seems to suppose, the Peutingerian Table dates from the time of Theodosius, Grenoble ought to appear rather under the name of *Gratianopolis* than under that of *Cularo*. The earliest notice of Grenoble is at the Council of Aquileia, where there was a "Dominus Episcopus Gratianopolitanus." This council was held A.D. 381, within three years from the date of Theodosius' association to the empire.

² I have, however, no doubt that the names "Cularo" and "Culabo," though applied to different places, are merely varying forms of the same Celtic word; a word represented by the modern Gaelic "Culaobh," and the Low-Latin "Culata" ("rei alicujus pars extrema," Ducange). Both Cularo and Culabo would have been frontier stations, "Ad fines." This identity of meaning, in the case of "Culabo" and "Ad Fines," will explain the intrusion of the word "Fines," in the writings of the Geographer of Ravenna, between two corrupt forms of the Peutingerian stations, "Catorissium" and "Culabone." But perhaps Mr Law would prefer that this "Fines"

should be taken for the station, which D'Anville supposed to be omitted here in the Peutingerian Table. In the passage to which I refer we find, among other names of towns, (the Geographer entertaining no objection to oblique cases instead of nominatives),—"Sanatione, Durotingo, Metrozelon, Cantourisa, Fines, Curarone, Maurogena,—." It is plain that these names, "Fines" excepted, are corrupt forms of those of the Peutingerian stations, "Stabatione, Durotinco, Mellosedo, Catorissium, Culabone, Morginno." The author, it will be observed, writes "Curarone" instead of "Culabone," and "Maurogena" instead of "Morginno;" the one approaching to "Cularone," and the other to "Maurigenna." No stress, however, can be laid on forms of names given by so barbarous a writer, the climax of whose corruptions is the conversion of the "Alpis Cottia" into the "civitas" called "Alcacothin." Sometimes the name of a town seems to be given twice. Thus, the "Dea Vocontiorum" probably appears in the list both as "Boccombri" and "Bococilon."

and the Col de la Coche to Grenoble; another opinion from which Mr Law feels himself obliged to withhold his approval. According to him, Cæsar started from the frontiers of Cisalpine Gaul at Usseau in the valley of Fenestrelles, and must consequently have entered the Alps at Pignerol. From Usseau he would have crossed the Col de Sestrières to Cesanne; his subsequent course, according to Mr Law, (p. 102), seeming to lie over the Genève through Briançon to Gap and Grenoble. This appears rather a singular route to be described by the words, "qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat," though it would be a most excellent one, disregarding all other objections against it, if "proximum iter" meant "the longest way;" for a more circuitous route it would be impossible to find. But I must now notice Mr Law's objections to my own views.

His first exceptions are taken against the supposed positions which I assigned to the Cottian Caturiges and to the Garoceli. He asks (p. 102) why the Caturiges of the Durance could not be those of the Cottian league. It should be a sufficient answer to say that the district of Chorges (Caturiges) is excluded from the Cottian territory by Strabo, who fixes upon Embrun as the frontier between the Vocontian and Cottian districts. In the *Jerusalem Itinerary* we find also, relative to Embrun, the words: "Inde incipiunt Alpes Cottiae," i.e. (most probably) "here begins the province of the Alpes Cottiae," the old Cottian land. Besides, it is well known that Embrun was the chief town in the province of the Maritime Alps. My argument in proof of there having been a people called Caturiges in the Upper Maurienne, an argument which is exceedingly simple, may be found in my treatise, (pp. 165—167). Mr Law hardly touches upon it. He also, without the shadow of a reason, fixes the Caturiges of the Durance in the valley above Embrun, instead of below. They are wanted there for his theory.

That the Garoceli lived in the Lower Maurienne is also denied by Mr Law¹, (p. 103). This question is, however, clear enough. It appears that the cathedral church of St Jean de Maurienne is spoken of in ancient documents as the church of Sanctus Joannes Garocellius. The church of Sanctus Joannes Garocellius and

¹ In my quotation from Blaev there was an evident misprint of "appellatur legimus" for "appellari legimus." The Critic does not forego this advantage.

the church of Sanctus Joannes Mauriennensis were thus one and the same thing. From this it seems to follow inevitably that, as the St John, after whom this church was named, was the Baptist, to whom personally the title of Garocellius could not possibly be applied, (the bishop of Maurienne is sometimes called "episcopus Sancti Joannis Baptistæ." *Bouquet*, III. p. 466), therefore the word Garocellius must indicate the place where the church stood, or St Jean de Maurienne must have been in the Garocelian country¹. This argument Mr Law attempts to invalidate by an extraordinary supposition, which, however, he hardly seems to put forward as his own. Yet no one else, I believe, has the slightest claim to share the merit of it, or is likely to advance any pretensions to such an honour. The Critic's words are (p. 103):

"Now, supposing that some Sanctus Johannes Garocellius was once the Christian Bishop of Maurienne, how does that indicate the position of Cæsar's Garoceli? We are not even told why he was called Garocellius, &c."

Such a demand, I am ready to grant, would be perfectly unanswerable. I confess at once my inability to tell Mr Law why this supposed bishop, or any other personage that never existed, should have been called Garocellius.

Mr Law then proceeds to object to my conclusion that the Medulli and Garoceli were probably the same people. I can hardly pause to notice the eccentric position which Mr Law assigns to the Medulli, the neighbours of the Tricorii and the Allobroges. I must therefore content myself with a protest, in the name of the Medulli, not only against their expulsion from the Lower Maurienne, which Mr Law in his map leaves destitute of all inhabitants, but also against their transportation to the Arctic regions at the extremity of the Maurienne, amid "the sea of glaciers which extends from the Levanna to the Roche Melon." Surely Mr Law might have interpreted more mercifully the words, οἵπερ τὰς ἐψηλοτάτας ἔχουσι κορυφάς. But, to return to the subject of the Garoceli, it is not difficult to see why they should be identified with the Medulli. We have, in Pliny and on the arch of Susa, very complete lists of the Alpine tribes. In these lists the name of the Garoceli never appears. They

¹ It is common, when several churches in different places are dedicated to the

same person, to attach the name of the locality to the name of the person.

would therefore probably be identical with another tribe which we find must also be placed in the Garocellian country, the Lower Maurienne; i. e. they must be identical with the Medulli¹. But this subject I have canvassed in my treatise, and need not now return to it.

Mr Law, it is evident, is fully sensible how much the argument, drawn from the position of the tribes who opposed Cæsar, is in favour of the Mont Cenis; for we find him (p. 104) reduced to the assertion that Cæsar's march need not have been made through the territories of any one of the tribes who attempted to obstruct his progress; and also driven to make some suppositions about a "great mountain chief" and a "league," which I shall not attempt to controvert. If any one can believe that this potentate, who with his league had escaped the knowledge of Cæsar, stationed tribes over which his sovereignty did not extend, to defend a district which none of them inhabited; if this can obtain credence without a reason, all argumentative remedies must be ineffectual. I will therefore allow Mr Law to dismiss in this satisfactory manner the question of the tribes, and will pass on to examine the new ground on which he attempts to make a stand for his own route.

In p. 105 he endeavours to shew that the Ocelum, from which Cæsar started, was at Usseau in the valley of Fenestrelles, and that Cæsar consequently could not have crossed the Mont

¹ St Jean de Maurienne, the town of the Garoceli, appears to have been certainly in the Cottian land. In Bouquet, *Historiens de la France*, (III. 466), there is found in an extract from the life of St Tygria, relating to the grants of Gontran to the church of Maurienne, a passage which seems to intimate this fact; and also, perhaps, that the valley which we now call the Maurienne, was once known as the "Cottian Valley." After noticing the grant of Susa "*ecclesiæ Mauriennensi*," the writer proceeds: "*Concessit autem vallem Cottianam, in gyrum Maurianæ (St Jean de Maurienne) structam, et rustes et fivum quæ muris et tectis ecclesiæ ministrarent.*" The Maurienne was not, however, a part of the original

Cottian territory, but was added to it by Augustus, who reduced the Medulli and Caturiges. That such an addition should have been made renders it probable that there was a pass from the Maurienne into Italy. I do not know on what ground Mr Law extends the Centrones into the Maurienne. They never formed one of the Cottian tribes, though he makes them a part of that confederation. He also says, (p. 105), that the territory of the Centrones may have reached to the Col de Vanoise. No doubt it did, as this pass is on the ridge between the Tarentaise and the Maurienne. But why should they have come over it, and taken possession of a part of the Maurienne itself?

Cenis; a conclusion which might be just, if Mr Law could only prove his point about Ocelum. I have, I think, in the Appendix to my treatise, shewn sufficiently clearly that Ocelum must have been near Avigliana, (perhaps at Buttigliera), and that its identification with Usseau is impossible. I must now notice Mr Law's arguments in favour of this identification, and against the supposition that Ocelum and Scingomagus were on the Susa road¹.

The chief argument against this last supposition is derived from "historical probability." "Susa," we learn (p. 106), "the principal town of the Segusini, was the capital of the great Alpine chief Cottius, and of his father before him. They headed the confederacy against the encroachments of Rome. This surely would be a reason against Cæsar's making his march by the Susa road." Had Mr Law a case in the slightest degree tenable, it would be fortunate for him that his own argument here is not worth much, as it would tell entirely against him. For, as it appears from Strabo and Pliny, and the inscription on the arch of Susa, that the Maurienne was first attached to the Cottian territory by Augustus, it follows that almost the only part of that territory which Cæsar would have traversed, if he crossed the Mont Cenis, would be the open valley between Susa and the plains, where there is not one strong position to defend. But if, as Mr Law alleges, he crossed the Mont Genève from Ocelum, he must then, supposing the further Cottian frontier to have been at Embrun, where Strabo fixes it, have passed for nearly 100 miles through the Cottian territory, *whatever might have been the position of Ocelum*. If the confederation of the Cottian tribes then existed, and if Cæsar wished to avoid their land as much as possible, he must have crossed the Mont Cenis: if he wished to go through the heart of the Cottian land, he must have crossed the Mont Genève. "So much" (I am quoting Mr Law) "for historical probability."

But perhaps it might be urged by the Critic that I have no right to suppose the Cottian territory in Cæsar's time to have the extent given to it by Strabo. I am quite willing, for

¹ Mr Law says, (p. 104), "Ocelum seems to have a probable connexion with the name Garoceli." Now Ocelum could not be, at the same time, a town of the Garoceli, and a town in the Ro-

man province of Cisalpine Gaul. The connexion between the names is merely etymological. See Treatise, notes, pp. 178, 187.

argument's sake, to accept the alternative, and to admit that Mr Law's road then entirely avoided that country. In this case, the central and lower parts of the province of Susa, districts together equal in extent to the county of Huntingdon, would have composed the dominions of this great monarch, whose power struck terror into the heart of Cæsar, though accompanied by five Roman legions, the future conquerors of Gaul¹.

¹ Mr Law says (p. 106) that "Pompey's march to Spain was undoubtedly over the Mont Genève." I wish he could prove this, as it is exactly the assumption I should wish to make. For, although Appian's description of the position of the pass is very vague, yet we learn from him; and also from Pompey's own words, "Per eas (Alpes) iter aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius, patefeci," that Pompey's pass was not the same as Hannibal's, while it may also perhaps be inferred that it was a pass not in use before. Now, as we know that Hannibal crossed a *ὑπέρβασις διὰ Ταυρῶων*, and as there are but two good claimants of such a title, the Genève and the Cenis, it would follow, if the Genève were excluded, that the Mont Cenis was Hannibal's pass. I think it is highly probable that Pompey crossed the Genève, though I believe he would have approached it by the ordinary route through the valley of Susa, and not by the valley of Fenestrelles and the Col de Sestrières. For the route of the Genève is a shorter way to Spain, and might therefore be described by Pompey as "nobis opportunius," than the route of the Mont Cenis. It would have brought Pompey out into the plains about Avignon, the same plains in which Hannibal found himself after his passage of the Rhone. Thus Pompey's route may have been the *iter recta regione* alluded to by Livy, when he says of Hannibal, "non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad levam in Tricastinos flexit." The existence of this

route would probably have been known to Livy, though not to Hannibal.

In p. 106 Mr Law adopts two palpably erroneous measurements—104 miles from Embrun to Ad Fines, and 33 miles from Susa to Ad Fines. (See *Treatise*, note, p. 128.) His "confident assertion" that the Doria of Strabo is the Dora Baltea, and his opinion that the Po of Strabo is the Orco, I might leave to the reader's own judgment. Strabo, who was acquainted with Polybius' writings, could hardly have held so absurd an opinion about the Po. (See Polyb. II. xiv. 8, xvi. 6.) How any road from Placentia to Ocelum could have run, wholly or partially, along the banks of either the Orco or the Dora Baltea, is a matter utterly beyond my powers of conception. "Mr Ellis's imagination, always fertile," is here completely at fault. Strabo's words are, according to the text of Kramer: *ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς Τίκινον ἐν τριάκοντα ἑξ μίλλοις πόλις καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὁ παραρρέων ποταμός, συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδω, καὶ Κλαστίδιον καὶ Δέρθων καὶ Ἀκουαιστατιέλλαι μικρὸν ἐν παρόδῳ. ἡ δ' εὐθεῖα εἰς Ὠκελον παρὰ τὸν Πάδων καὶ τὸν Δουρίαν ποταμὸν, βαρυσπύργου ἡ πολλή, πλείους καὶ ἄλλους ἔχουσα ποταμούς (ὧν καὶ τὸν Δρουεντίαν), μίλλων ἐστὶ περὶ [ἐκατὸν] ἑξήκοντα, εὐτεῦθεν δὲ ᾗδῃ τὰ Ἀλπια ὄρη καὶ ἡ Κελτικὴ. (With respect to the insertion of *ἐκατόν*, in which Mr Law detects a conspiracy against the Dora Baltea, Kramer observes:—"ἐκατόν om. codd. edd.: addidi ex du Theil coni., qui collatis itinerariis hoc esse intervallum ostendit*

With respect to Scingomagus Mr Law observes (p. 107) that D'Anville found a little place called Scinguin above (qu. below?) the Col de Sestrières, which he notices as resembling Scingomagus. I have no doubt that Mr Law derived this from what appeared to him good authority: nevertheless, I cannot say that I have much belief in this Scinguin. D'Anville, in his *Ancienne Gaule*, identifies Scingomagus with a place called *Chamlat de Signin*. In Cramer's map of Ancient Italy I also find this place called *Signin*, not *Scinguin*. In addition to this, I looked over several modern maps for the place, but found it only in one (Bourcet's), where its name was written *Chanlas Seguin*. However, whether it be called *Chamlat de Signin*, *Seguin*, or *Scinguin*, is of little importance. All such names, as well as *Segusio* and *Scingomagus*, would probably be derived from the Segovii or Segusini, the tribes who anciently possessed these parts¹. This *Signin*

in nott. ad Imp. Par.") The distance of Ocelum from Placentia is 145 miles; from Pavia, 109. According to Mr Law, Strabo, in his journey from Placentia to Ocelum along the Po, does not go through the whole route, but "pulls up on his arrival at the Dora Baltea," never following the banks of any Dora at all. The Critic has before explained the words, *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, without being much restrained by their meaning; but in this interpretation of *παρὰ τὸν Δουβλαν ποταμὸν* his emancipation is complete. It is clear from Strabo that Ocelum lay at some distance from the Po, upon the banks of a river Dora; and it is also clear that this Dora must be the Dora Susina, as Ocelum was on the Cottian frontier. The *Δποερτία* of Strabo would be the Dora Baltea.

¹ I noticed in my treatise (p. 188) the probable connexion between *Scingomagus* and the *Secusini*. Mr Law, whose mode of reproducing comparisons of names is not without ingenuity, converts this (p. 110) into a parallel between *Scingo* and *Segusio*. He finds himself also able, on the same page, to remind me that the names *Segusio* and *Scingomagus* both occur in Pliny, and must therefore belong to different places.

He has not, however, been so ready to remind me (or any one else) that Pliny has borrowed the passage relating to Scingomagus from the geographer Artemidorus (flor. B.C. 100), and has retained the old Greek name which he found there. For Scingomagus (*Σκιγγομάγος*) is a Greek, not a Latin name. Pliny's words (II. 108) are: "Alpes usque ad Scingomagum vicum ΔΧVΙΠΠ." They form part of an itinerary from India to Gades. Segusio is mentioned, III. 17. The words of Artemidorus, as preserved by Agathemerus, (lib. I. cap. 4) are: *ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ἕως Σκιγγομάγου κώμης, ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν οὐσῆς, στάδια δρυβ'.* According to Mr Law, this *κώμη*, ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν οὐσα, stood almost on the summit of the Col de Sestrières, a most eligible position certainly for a *vicus* or *κώμη*, though lower situations are now preferred. Here, just as the traveller had begun to descend from his highest pass, his ascent of the Alps commenced. But then this traveller was no ordinary man. "He (Pliny) is not dealing with roads. He is going from one end of the world to the other in a few strides." In this case, as a stride of 519 miles from Rome would have extended to Lyons instead

would be less than five Roman miles from Cesanne (*Gesdaio*), and consequently less than 50 from Embrun. Scingomagus, we know,

of Chamlat de Siguin, we must infer that, with a traveller's licence, he has exaggerated by one-third the length of the step he actually took; though there will be no difficulty if we suppose "via" to mean a route for common travellers, not for those who take strides of 500 miles at a time. Rome to Tortona (*Itin.*), 399 miles. (The Berlin ed. (1848) gives 409, taking the distance from Genoa to Libarna at 36, and from Libarna to Tortona at 35 miles. But, as the modern distance from Genoa to Tortona is 34 Piedmontese = 57 Roman miles, one of the various readings, 26 for 36, or 25 for 35, should probably be preferred). Tortona to Casale (*Carbantia*), 22½ Pied. = 37 Rom. miles. Casale to Turin (*Itin.*), 50 miles. Otherwise, taking the road by Asti, Tortona to Turin, 46½ Pied. = 77 Rom. miles. Turin to Susa (*Itin.*), 40 miles. Total distance from Rome to Susa, by Casale, 399 + 37 + 50 + 40 = 526 miles; by Asti, 399 + 77 + 40 = 516 miles. Either distance varies little from 519 miles. Strabo speaks of the Alps as beginning at Ocellum, not at Scingomagus. The mountains are, in fact, entered near Avigliana. At Susa the broad flat valley terminates, and the ascent begins.

The next measurement given in the itinerary transcribed by Pliny is from Scingomagus to Illiberis, from the Alps to the Pyrenees. Here the MSS. give three readings: 456, 466, and 556 miles. Comparing these together, the first seems the reading to be preferred. Now the distance by the Mont Genève from Scingomagus to Tarascon or Beaucaire is, according to the estimate of Strabo, which is corroborated by the Itineraries, 234 miles. From Beaucaire to Nîmes the distance (*Peut. Tab.*) is 15 miles. From Nîmes to Narbonne there are five distances given: Strabo, 88 miles; *Ant. Itin.*, 87 miles, and 91 miles; Jerus.

Itin., 93 miles; *Peut. Tab.*, 101 miles. The straight distance is 88 miles. From Narbonne to Ruscino the distance (*Ant. Itin.*) is 40 miles: thence to Illiberis, now Elne, (*Peut. Tab.*) 7 miles. The straight distance from Narbonne to Elne is 45 miles. Consequently, taking the longest measurement between Nîmes and Narbonne, the distance from Scingomagus to Illiberis by the Mont Genève is $234 + 15 + 101 + 40 + 7 = 397$ miles, or 59 miles less than the lowest of the three readings of Pliny, 456 miles. This road then, it would appear, did not pass over the Mont Genève, but followed the more ancient course by the Mont Cenis, which is about 60 miles longer (Susa to Le Cheylas (*Treatise*) 108½ miles; Valence, 129 kil. = 87½ miles; Tarascon, 148 kil. = 100 miles; Elne, 153, 155, or 163 miles, taking in turn each of the three allowable measurements between Nîmes and Narbonne, of which the highest seems the least correct. Total distance from Susa to Elne (Scingomagus to Illiberis) by the Little Mont Cenis, 449, 451, or 459 miles, very close approximations to the 456 miles of Pliny). This result might have been anticipated, as we are probably dealing here with the most ancient road over the Cottian Alps, the route of Hannibal, not of Pompey. Polybius' approximate estimate of the length of Hannibal's march from Emporium to the commencement of the Taurine plain (Avigliana), $1600 + 1400 + 1200 = 4200$ stadia = 525 miles, will exceed by about the right quantity the 456 miles between Susa and Elne. The "striding" distance between these two places is very nearly 300 miles; between Chamlat de Siguin and Elne about 280. But this theory of "strides", it must be evident, is perfectly absurd. It is also a useless absurdity. For it was devised by Mr Law, because he feared it might be said that Pliny, in this notice about

was 71 or 72 miles from Embrun, and therefore could not have been near Chamlat de Siguin, any more than Ocelum, 99 miles from Embrun, could have been near Usseau, which is not more than 70. In short, there is not any reason for supposing that these ancient places lay anywhere on the route of the Col de Sestrières and the valley of Fenestrelles, a hasty conclusion on which the theory of an ancient road following such a course has been raised, and even acquired general belief¹.

Scingomagus, "would naturally be referring to some place in the great Imperial Road." The Critic's alarm was groundless. Artemidorus must have been dead many years before the Republic expired.

¹ Mr Law has, however, (p. 107), one grand argument to overthrow all the conclusions drawn from these distances. These 99 miles ought, it appears, to be 99 *stades*, equal to 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles. "In order to read 99 miles, you are obliged to convert *stades* into *miles*; that is, you must read *ἄλλα τοσαῦτα* for *ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι*, which appears in every manuscript." I will give here the whole passage in Strabo, following the text of Kramer:

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ Οὐκοκωτίων καὶ τῆς Κοττίου μέχρι μὲν Οὐγέρου καὶ Ταρούσκων κοινῇ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς Οὐκοκωτίων ὄρεσι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῶν Ἀλπεων διὰ Δρουεντία καὶ Καβαλλίνος μίλια ἐξήκοντα τρία· πάλιν δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ὄρεσι τῶν Οὐκοκωτίων πρὸς τὴν Κοττίου μίλια ἑκατὸν ἐνὸς δέοντα *eis* ἐπ' Ἐβρόδουον κώμην· εἰτ' ἄλλα τοσαῦτα διὰ Βρυγαντίου κώμης καὶ Σκυγγομάγου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβόσεως ἐπὶ Ὀκελον, τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς· καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυγγομάγου δὲ ἥδη Ἰταλία λέγεται· ἔστι δὲ ἐνθὲνδε ἐπὶ Ὀκελον μίλια εἴκοσι ὀκτώ. (εἴκοσι ἐπτά edd.)

Now it will be seen here that there is not the slightest mention of *stades*, nothing but *miles*. The change of *ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι* into *ἄλλα τοσαῦτα* is absolutely required to make sense. Kra-

mer's note on the subject is: "ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι codd. edd., quod qui ferri possit non video." The German editor was not aware how extremely tolerant criticism can sometimes be. However, as Mr Law wishes to read *stades* instead of *miles* for the sake of proving that Ocelum was identical with Usseau in the valley of Fenestrelles, let us accept his premises. Ocelum then must have been at a distance of 99 *stades* = 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles above Embrun, i.e. about one-third of the distance between Embrun and Briançon, and about 55 miles from Usseau. Some interesting corollaries might be drawn from this geographical discovery. Two may suffice. The Vocontian frontier being at Embrun according to Strabo, Cæsar, who started from Ocelum, would have succeeded in accomplishing by great diligence, in no more than seven days, a march of 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles; an achievement which he has thought worthy of record in his *Commentaries*. Scingomagus also, where Italy began, being 27 or 28 miles from Ocelum, would be at a distance of — 15 miles from Embrun, and would nearly coincide with *Caturiges*, now Chorges near Gap.

It will be found, by the aid of the *Itineraries*, that the distance between Tarascon and Embrun given by Strabo (63 + 99 = 162 miles) is extremely accurate. We must consequently conclude that there is the same accuracy with respect to the distance between Embrun and Ocelum.

The truth of my conditions for the determination of the site of Ocelum

After remarking, (p. 110), "On Ocelum was hinged Mr Ellis's last proof of Cæsar's march. It falls with the rest;" an assertion about equal in correctness to that which follows, and is so remarkably consistent with the ill-fated "historical probability" argument, that "Cæsar was resisted by a body of the Cottian confederation," (*ante*, p. 19), Mr Law proceeds to say, (p. 111): "Mr Ellis, in his Cenis route, struggles with two difficulties, one on the distance performed in seven days, the other on the transit through the Vocontii." There is no difficulty in either case. If the short road between St Jean de Maurienne and Grenoble had been taken by Cæsar¹, the whole distance between Butti-

must now be apparent. They were these. (Treatise, p. 187.) "Ocelum stood in the province of Cisalpine Gaul, on the frontier of the Cottian land, at the foot of the Alps, on the banks of the Dora Susina, and (at) a distance of 99 miles from Embrun." Buttigliera satisfies all these conditions; Usseau not one. Room could hardly be found for the Cottian tribes without assigning to them the whole of the valley of Fenestrelles, i.e. of the Clusone, which extends to the commencement of the plains at Pignerol.

¹ I named erroneously in my treatise one of the passes which this road crosses. The "Col du Glandon" should have been the "Col de la Croix-de-fer." I followed this road from the Graisivaudan to St Jean de Maurienne, in the summer of 1854. The distance was, as well as I could judge, very nearly what I had conjectured it to be. Neither the *Col de la Coche* nor the *Col de la Croix-de-fer* present any difficulty. The route is still a good deal frequented; it leaves the Graisivaudan at Villard Bonot. In old maps, before the modern carriage-roads were completed, the prominence of the "Pas de la Coche" is very remarkable. I have seen no recent measurement of the heights of these two passes. A scale of heights on the staircase of the University Library at Cambridge gives the height of the *Col de la Coche* at a little less than 6,400

English feet, and that of the *Col de la Croix-de-fer* at 7,500.

It may be said that it is objectionable to carry Cæsar over three passes. Mr Law, even by his very circuitous route, does just the same, making him cross the Col de Sestrières and the Mont Genève, and the pass called the Col de St Guigues (Bourcet, Raymond), between Gap and the valley of the Drac. In this last case, however, Mr Law says (p. 93) "perhaps there is no mountain;" a supposition which is plainly impossible. All Alpine valleys are divided from one another, as every one must know, by ranges of mountains. The Col de St Guigues is, however, a low pass.

It may also be objected, that the route of the Coche is found neither in the *Itineraries* nor in the *Peutingerian Table*. It may be answered that the approach to the only other pass noticed by Cæsar, the Great St Bernard, is precisely in the same situation as the Mont Cenis. For the road to Martigny (Octodurus), as given in the *Itineraries* and the *Table*, runs along the north side of the Lake of Geneva i.e. "per Helvetios." But it seems quite plain from Cæsar's own account (*Bell. Gall.* III. i-vi.) that the route to Octodurus, from the country of the Allobroges, lay "per Nantuates;" i.e. through the northern provinces of Savoy. Remains of a Roman road leading from the valley

gliera and Grenoble might have been performed in seven days by marches of 20 Roman (rather more than 18 English) miles a day; no extravagant allowance for forced marches, even though the hostile Gauls had to be driven off by the way. Cæsar would have returned from Italy, as he went, "*magnis itineribus*¹."

"The transit through the Vocontii" is merely an assertion of Mr Law's. It appears first in p. 102, where Cæsar is made to state that he went through the Vocontii into the Allobroges. Cæsar's words do not amount to this. He says: "*in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provincie die septimo pervenit: inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit.*" Here the body of the country of the Vocontii is not mentioned, nor necessarily implied, but merely its "*fines.*" This expression, unless vaguely taken, which we have here no reason for doing, though such a usage is common, means no more than "frontier." The word *inde* in "*inde in Allobrogum fines*" is, if it refer to place and not to time, grammatically equivalent to *ab iisdem finibus Vocontiorum*. Now the Isère would have separated the Vocontii from the Allobroges: their territories were conterminous nowhere else. Cæsar's words will consequently imply this: that he arrived in a week at the Vocontian frontier on the south bank of the Isère, and then crossed the river to the north bank². Mr Law contravenes with some energy (p. 112)

of the Arve towards Martigny have been found near Passy, and elsewhere. (Bertolotti, *Lett.* XXVII.)

¹ Mr Law appears to entertain no very exalted opinion of the powers of the Roman soldier, nor of the alacrity of Cæsar's legions in the movements of war. Gibbon's estimate, if we may judge by his account of the Imperial armies, is considerably higher, and perhaps more just. Nor, if we may venture to trust the historian rather than the critic, would the legions have been so greatly embarrassed in the course of a week's march by any "*commissariat*" difficulties. Gibbon says, (chap. i.):

"Besides their arms, which the legionaries scarcely considered as an encumbrance, they were laden with their

kitchen furniture, the instruments of fortification, and the provision of many days. Under this weight, which would oppress the delicacy of a modern soldier, they were trained by a regular step to advance, in about six hours, near twenty miles. On the appearance of an enemy, they threw aside their baggage, and by easy and rapid evolutions converted the column of march into an order of battle."

² Mr Law makes Cæsar enter the Vocontian territory near Gap. The distance of Gap from Embrun was 28 Roman miles; of Embrun from Ocelum, 99; total, from Gap to Ocelum, 127 miles. This is not much less than my 136 miles, which Mr Law exclaims against as so extravagant a distance for a week's march.

the supposition that the south bank of the Isère at Grenoble may have been Vocontian. Yet, if he makes Cæsar cross the Isère at Grenoble, as he appears to do (p. 102), and asserts, as he does (p. 110), that Cæsar passed directly from the country of the Vocontii into that of the Allobroges, I do not see how he is to avoid admitting what he disputes at p. 112. Indeed, as he brings Cæsar into the Vocontian territory near Gap, he must consider the right bank of the Drac, where the road to Grenoble runs, to have been in the possession of that people. In short, if Cæsar crossed the Isère at Grenoble, then the south bank of the Isère there must have been Vocontian. If it were not Vocontian, but Tricorian, then Cæsar must have crossed the Drac before he passed the Isère. In either case, the "fines Vocontiorum" would have been near Grenoble, which may fairly be taken to represent the termination of the seven days' march¹.

I have now arrived at the last question to be considered, the identity with the Little Mont Cenis of a certain pass spoken of by Strabo. Mr Law, however, denies that any pass at all is spoken of. He gives, in support of his denial, a translation of the passage of Strabo to which I referred as containing the mention of the supposed pass. From this translation I have taken the following words (p. 114):

"Beyond the Vocontii are the Siconii and the Tricorii, and beyond these the Medulli occupy the highest summits, the direct height of which is, they say, 100 stadia in ascent, and the same again in descent to the bounds of Italy. (Μετὰ δὲ Οὐοκοντίους Ἰκόνιοι (ὃς Σικόνιοι) καὶ Τρικόριοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Μέδουλλοι, οἵπερ τὰς ὑψηλοτάτας ἔχουσι κορυφάς· τὸ γοῦν ὀρθιώτατον αὐτῶν ὕψος σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἔχειν φασὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν, κἀνθένδε² (ὃς κἀντεῦθεν) πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας κατὰβασιν).... The Medulli lie the furthest from the confluence of the Isère with the Rhone: and on the other side of the mountain range spoken of, which slopes towards Italy, dwell the Taurini, a Ligurian nation, and other Ligurians: and of these is the land called the land of Ideonnus,

¹ The Drac formerly traversed a part of the ground on which Grenoble stands. Pilot, *Hist. Gren.* p. 260.

² This word, which must refer to a locality, not a measurement, and also

the context generally, plainly shew the meaning to be attached to the expression "ὀρθιώτατον ὕψος." It is the highest part or crest of the ridge that is alluded to, not its perpendicular elevation.

and that of Cottius. Beyond these and the Po are the Salassi &c."

Now we have here a particular range of the Alps spoken of, the identification of which must be our first object. On one side of it lay the Taurine country and the land of Ideonnus and Cottius. Ideonnus I suppose to be the same as Domnus, the father of Cottius. This latter district, at the time alluded to, would have comprised the valley of Susa and other valleys to the south and west. The Taurine country extended eastward from the Cottian territory far into the plains of Italy. On the other side of the ridge were the Medulli, who dwelt in the Maurienne, though probably only in the lower part. These are ample data for the determination of the ridge spoken of. It must be that part of the main chain of the Alps which divides the Maurienne from Italy. On the south side of this chain, Strabo mentions a point which he designates as "the bounds of Italy." This locality we know, from the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, to have been the city of Susa. From the valley of the Arc then, (the Maurienne), there was an ascent (*ἀνάβασις*) of 100 stadia to the crest of the main chain of the Alps, and from this crest to Susa there was a descent (*κατάβασις*) also of 100 stadia. Now it seems to me that, when we hear of ascending from one side of the Alps, and descending on the other, it requires no "fertile imagination," nor anything beyond the most ordinary common sense, to conclude that some pass must have been crossed. Such, however, is not the opinion of Mr Law. "Alas! there is just this misfortune, that in the passage relied on Strabo does not speak of any Pass at all." (p. 113.) "In all this, which I have quoted continuously, no pass is spoken of: no route for travelling from one part of a country to another¹." This direct contradiction may render it necessary to examine a little into the question.

It is obvious that it is the force of the words *ἀνάβασις* and *κατάβασις* that is in dispute. These therefore Mr Law attacks, though not directly, and lays down the following canon, aimed at

¹ Probably, therefore, that which Xenophon describes as an "Anabasis," was accomplished without any travelling whatever. The army of Cyrus was transported from Sardis to Cunaxa by some other means, the nature of which

Mr Law could doubtless explain to us. We have been previously informed that Pliny "is not dealing with roads" when he uses the words "via" and "iter terrenum." It seems difficult to persuade Mr Law in this matter.

these two words, declaratory of the terms which it was necessary for Strabo to use to define a pass. "There are no terms like *ὁδός*, or *ὑπέρβασις*, which Strabo employs on such occasions." (p. 115.) The words *ἀνάβασις* and *κατάβασις* then, according to the Critic, cannot be used by Strabo to indicate a pass. This is the issue which has to be tried.

Now how would Mr Law explain, according to his canon, the terms *ἀνάβασις* and *κατάβασις* in the following quotation from Polybius' account of Hannibal's passage of the Alps? I assume, by the way, that Mr Law will allow that Hannibal did actually cross the Alps. Even his versatility of opinion must have limits.

Τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἀναζεύξας, ἐνήρχετο τῆς καταβάσεως· ἐν ᾗ πολέμιοις μὲν οὐκ ἔτι περιέτυχε, πλὴν τῶν λάθρα κακοποιούντων· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων καὶ τῆς χιόνος, οὐ πολλῶ λείποντας ἀπέβαλε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν φθαρέντων. οὗσης γὰρ στενῆς καὶ κατωφεροῦς τῆς καταβάσεως, κ.τ.λ.

But perhaps Mr Law will say, This is a passage from Polybius and not from Strabo. Very well. How does he interpret the word *ἀναβάσεως* in the passage cited from Strabo, *ante*, p. 23? Besides, whatever be the force of *ἀνάβασις* and *κατάβασις*, they must together, when applied to different sides of a chain of mountains, be equivalent to a *ὑπέρβασις* of that chain. *ὑπέρβασις* therefore, ought not in Strabo, according to Mr Law, to signify a pass. Indeed, it is not one of the two terms mentioned in his canon. Yet what other meaning but "passes" can be affixed to *ὑπερβάσεις* in the following well-known passage of Strabo?

Τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον· διὰ Λυγίων μὲν τὴν ἑγγιστα τῇ Τυρρηνικῇ πελάγει· εἴτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν· εἴτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ, τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν ἀπάσας κρημνῶδεις².

¹ It is only from these words, "*λάθρα κακοποιούντων*," that we learn how the mountaineers on the Italian side of the Alps were affected to Hannibal. These mountaineers, according to Mr Law, were the Salassi. It might consequently be presumed that it is from these two words that he concludes (p. 56), that "the Salassians, like other Gauls, sympathised in the object of Hannibal's expedition." It must be confessed, however, that they had rather an objectionable mode of exhibiting their sympathy. But how did Mr Law find

out that the Salassi were Gauls? It is generally considered that they were Ligurians, like the Taurini (Malden's *Rome*, p. 64). Polybius (ii. xvii.) gives us what seems a complete list of the Gallic nations in Italy. There is no mention made in it of the Salassi; which would hardly have been the case had they been of Gallic blood, since even Celto-Ligurians, such as the Lævi and Libui, are included among the Cisalpine Gauls.

² Mr Law, forgetting in the second paragraph of p. 115 the canon he had laid down in the first, does not dispute

But it must be unnecessary to pursue this question any farther. Scarcely any one can have the slightest doubt about the force of the words *ἀνάβασις* and *κατάβασις*. Nor, even if we had words of less precision, could there be much hesitation about Strabo's meaning. For it is clear that the two measurements, each of a hundred stadia, can only refer to one of two things; height, or distance. Now, if height had been intended, there would only have been a single "hundred stadia" given. It is also well known that the highest of the Alps is only twenty-six stadia in elevation, even above the level of the sea. No peaks four times as high as Mont Blanc have as yet been observed, at least by the generality of investigators. It is thus self-evident, in spite of Mr Law's "loftiest Alps and reputed heights," that they are two distances which are given by Strabo¹: the one, the distance from the valley of the Arc to the crest of the ridge, and the other, the distance from the crest of the ridge down to Susa. These distances are in accordance with the pass of the Little Mont Cenis².

I need not examine Mr Law's observations about the "great lake." One of four opinions concerning it must be adopted. (1) That it was the lake on the Mont Cenis. (2) That it was some much smaller lake. (3) That it never existed at all. (4) That it has disappeared. Of these, the first is the only admissible opinion. There are also (p. 116) some critical observations

that *ὑπερβάσις* here means "passes." He only attempts to get rid of the words "*ἡν Ἀντίβας διήλθεν*," which he says, and correctly so, are wanting in one of the most esteemed manuscripts. As, however, the words are found in five manuscripts, also of the first class, as well as in those of secondary authority, there can be no doubt of their genuineness. It is, besides, very improbable that Polybius, when noticing the passes with which he was acquainted, should not have mentioned Hannibal's name in connexion with the pass which he crossed. That some one else should have put in these words, when Polybius had omitted them, is equally improbable. But then Mr Law says: "These words of Strabo are quite without value for interpreting Polybius." He seems to

forget that the words belong to Polybius rather than to Strabo. The passage is, however, at the same time, quite conclusive as to the meaning which Strabo attached to the word *ὑπερβάσις*.

¹ Cf. Plin. II. 65.

² There is another pass, besides the Little Mont Cenis, which would satisfy these conditions of distance. It is called the Col de Clairée, and leads, like the Little Mont Cenis, from Bramans to Susa. No one has, I think, ever suggested this pass as the route of Hannibal, although the fine view which it commands of the plains of Italy has been noticed. One great objection to its acceptance would be, that the road to it from Bramans passes almost close to the Col of the Little Mont Cenis, a lower and an easier pass.

about "nailing" a pass, which it is equally unnecessary to touch upon.

I have now gone through Mr Law's Criticism, which professes to be founded on a careful examination of my theory. "I weighed its merits," says Mr Law (p. vi.), "and sifted it as well as I could, under the circumstances." Having seen the results of this "full and fair scrutiny," a scrutiny so searching as to elicit from my treatise what was nowhere to be found in it, the reader may be left to form his own opinion as to how far the Critic establishes the theory he himself supports, that of the Little St Bernard, or invalidates that which I have advocated, the theory of the Little Mont Cenis. Mr Law, indeed, does not profess to undertake a complete vindication of the Little St Bernard; but he has, I think, gone into its defence to a sufficient extent to make it perfectly clear that his position is untenable. It must also be remembered that the cause of the Little St Bernard has been already upheld by two excellent supporters, M. Deluc and the author of the Oxford Dissertation. And yet Mr Law, while in his preface justly acknowledging their works as "very able and full of merit," is obliged to confess that the case of the Little St Bernard has not been satisfactorily made out¹. It is, however, not easy to conceive how, after what has been said by those two writers, and what has been urged by Mr Law on the same side of the question, anything of importance can yet remain to be done. Nor is it difficult to see why, although erroneous, such a theory should have been held by able men. The order in which the investigation was pursued left the most decisive points to be considered last of all, and caused their importance to be overlooked in favour of a theory already formed. If, instead of beginning by endeavouring to trace Hannibal's route through the Transalpine valleys to the summit of the Alps, the

¹ "There is no subject in which false doctrine has been so successful and so enduring. To this day Truth has not gained the station that is due to her. The work of M. de Luc and the Oxford Dissertation are very able and full of merit. But even these are open to some correction and improvement: all is not right; and much of what is right is not adequately enforced. Many combatants too have arisen since those

were written: and of these not one is on the side of Truth." (Preface, p. vi.) I fear it cannot be said of this Truth: *Magna est Veritas, et prevalebit*. The confederacy of the ancients in support of Error is unhappily much too strong. Yet all is not irreparably lost. The adversaries of Truth may still be overthrown. There is a great Critic who says: "I would face them all, if I had time."

investigators had first determined by what Cisalpine valleys it was *possible* for him to have descended into Italy, the valley of Aosta would have been at once eliminated, and all the passes leading into it excluded. For, from any one of these passes, it was not possible that Hannibal could have seen the smallest portion of the plains of Italy, or have descended into those plains in the time allowed by Polybius. It was also evident at a glance, from the same author, that the descent must have been made either into the country of the Taurini or the Insubres¹, and certainly not through the country of the Salassi into that of the Libui. The question would thus have been much simplified. For, if Hannibal could not have *descended* through the valley of Aosta, it would almost immediately follow that he could not have *ascended* through any valley *north* of the Maurienne; the only pass from the Tarentaise not leading into the valley of Aosta, the Col de Galèse, being rendered inadmissible by its difficulty, and the Simplon by innumerable improbabilities. Again, it was quite certain that Hannibal must have followed up either the Rhone or the Isère for a length of about 800 stadia from their confluence before he began the ascent of the Alps. In neither case could he have struck off from the Isère at Grenoble to cross the Genève or any more southern pass, while either route might have been taken for the Maurienne. Hannibal consequently could not have ascended to the summit of the Alps by any valley *south* of the Maurienne. Therefore, as it was previously known that he could not have followed any valley *north* of the Maurienne, it would have appeared, merely from points plainly incontrovertible, and without touching upon any doubtful or complicated part of the subject, that Hannibal must have gained the summit of the Alps *through* the Maurienne, and

¹ I can hardly imagine how any one, whose perusal of Polybius had extended to cap. LX., could suppose an alternative to be possible in this case. I have, however, admitted such a possibility out of compliment to Mr Law, who in the matter of the Insubres "stands on the plain words of Polybius"; an attitude not always attempted by him, as we perceived on coming to the plain words, ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδου πεδία. Nor does his position seem very firm on

the present occasion; though perhaps he may be able to explain the apparently inexplicable process, by which Hannibal, after leaving the Alps behind him, and marching into the Insubrian or Milanese plain, found himself at the very roots (ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρώπειαν) of the Taurine (i.e. Cottian) Alps; and also how it happened that Hannibal had previously joined the Insubres without effecting a junction with them.

thus, in all probability, have descended into Italy from the Mont Cenis¹.

I find I have overlooked (*Criticism*, p. viii.) two alterations which are given as *Corrigenda*, an appellation they fully deserve in its most accurate sense. The first of them is this:

P. 11, line 1—after “not near it,” insert “The narrative had before announced in planum descensum; with an argument to make that plain Taurinian, and to shew Hannibal as deductus in Taurinos.”

Livy's words are, (L. Cincius Alimentus being the hearer implied in “audisse”): “*ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingen-temque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse, Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum.*” Hannibal told his prisoner, the historian Cincius Alimentus, that he came down into Italy among the Taurini. By Mr Law's correction, however, this statement of Hannibal's is converted into a conclusion of Livy's. The premises of Livy's argument become a result dependent on those very premises. (See

¹ Mr Law has subjoined to his *Criticism* some observations on an hypothesis of M. Replat of Annecy relative to the passage of Hannibal. The route of the Carthaginians, according to M. Replat, lay up the left bank of the Isère as far as Pont Charra, a place situated on the Brédaz between Le Cheylas and Montmélian; thence through the gorge of the Brédaz into the valley of La Rochette, and up the Val Isère again as far as L'Hôpital; thence by the Val Beaufort and over the Col du Bonhomme (qu. the Cormel de Roselant?) to Chapiu, and over the Col de la Seigne into the valley of Aosta. This theory would have one advantage over that of the Little St Bernard, of which it may be considered as a modification. The distance from Pont Charra to Ivrea by the Val Beaufort would be very nearly 150 Roman miles (1200 stadia), the distance allowed by Polybius for the passage of the Alps. The distance from Yenne to Ivrea by the Mont du Chat

and the Little St Bernard is found from the *Itineraries* to be 180 Roman miles. The *λευκόπερον ὄχυρον* of Polybius is, according to M. Replat's theory, Mont Blanc. This appears to me as improbable as that it should have been the so-called Roche Blanche, although the improbability would not entirely rest on the same grounds. For the Roche Blanche is almost at once disqualified by its insignificance, so disappointing to all who may here anticipate from the Alps anything commensurate with such objects. “Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.” Mont Blanc certainly is not liable to this objection, though I think there are others equally strong against its adoption. But I must not stay to examine M. Replat's theory: indeed, as my only knowledge of it is derived from Mr Law's notice, I should not be justified in criticising it in detail. As, however, it brings Hannibal into Italy by the valley of Aosta, I conceive that it must at once fall to the ground.

ante, p. 4.) For Livy never brings forward "an argument to prove the plain Taurinian, and to shew Hannibal as deductus in Taurinos." He is content to take these facts for granted on the strength of Hannibal's word, especially when that word was backed by universal agreement. Mr Law, however, has a much higher opinion of Hannibal's eloquence than of his veracity. He must shrewdly suspect him here of *Panion fides*. It would consequently appear that the object of Mr Law's indignation, the Taurine plot, as it was thus originated by Hannibal, must date from before B. C. 200. Mr Law may well say that "false doctrine has been enduring," and that "error comes forth under grave and respectable authority."

The second *Corrigendum* is this :

P. 11, line 4—after "reference" insert "The two expressions, *gens proxima*, and *genti proxima*, contain the same geographical idea, being simply this—that, *along the Po*, the Taurini are next *above* the Gauls."

Where does Mr Law get "along the Po" or "above the Gauls" from?

The two expressions in Livy are, the first belonging to a citation from Cincius Alimentus :

(1) "Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum¹."

(2) "Taurinis, genti proximæ, adversus Insubres bellum motum erat."

From these two passages it is to be inferred, according to Mr Law, that the Libui were non-existent B. C. 218. I should, nevertheless, have good hopes of their surviving that memorable year, even were I to admit as true all the erroneous premises of Mr Law's *Criticism* and *Corrigendum*. Yet this *Corrigendum* is almost as incorrect as so few lines could possibly be. Neither

¹ I suppose it is on account of this citation from Cincius Alimentus that Mr Law (see *ante*, Vol. II. p. 313) affirms that Livy had "already," i. e. before (2), "brought Hannibal into the Taurini." Yet it is evident that this citation can form no part of Livy's narrative of Hannibal's march. Nor indeed does any portion of cap. 38. The narrative is broken off at the end of cap.

37, and resumed at the beginning of cap. 39. Hannibal (cap. 37) descends to the plain, and (cap. 39) the first people he finds there, the Taurini, are at war with his expected allies, the Insu-bres. Scarcely any one could have here avoided "stumbling upon accuracy." Mr Law's critical acumen has, however, enabled him to escape.

grammar nor reason can connect "proximæ" in (2) with the Insubres or with the Po; while in (1) "Gallis" is plainly contrasted with "Italiam," the one expression indicating the Transalpine, and the other the Cisalpine country. In crossing the Alps from Gaul to Italy, reckoning from the passage of the Rhone to the arrival at the Taurine country, the first part of the plains which Hannibal reached, he lost 36,000 men and a vast number of horses and other animals. (This estimate does not agree with that of Polybius.)

R. ELLIS.

II.

On the Sophistical Rhetoric.

*Ὦν γὰρ ἀποθάνη
εἰς τις πονηρὸς, δὴ ἀνέφυσαν ῥήτορες·
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἰδίᾳ ἐν τῇ πόλει
ὅστις ἐπικαύσει τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ῥητόρων.
κεκολλόπνευκας τοιγαροῦν ῥήτωρ ἔσει.

PLATO. *Fr. inc. iv.* (Meineke.)

THE design which I have had in view in this series of papers is twofold; to collect such information as is to be found in contemporary writers about that very remarkable class of men known by the name of the Sophists, and to throw what light I am able upon their character, speculations, and pursuits, and the nature of the influence which they exercised upon the age in which they lived; and secondly, to correct certain opinions with respect to them, erroneous as I think, which have gained currency from the ability with which they have been maintained, and the deserved popularity of the latest work in which they have been advocated. The importance of the intellectual revolution in which they took so prominent a part, the influence which they indirectly exerted upon philosophical speculation—for though not sound philosophers themselves they were the cause of sound philosophy in others—and upon the national character by means of the educational functions which they exercised, give an interest to these men which they do not

On the Sophistical Rhetoric.

perhaps intrinsically possess, and will, I hope, justify what might otherwise seem the disproportionate length of these remarks. At any rate, such inquiries cannot fail to illustrate in some degree the literature, especially the philosophical literature, of the period, and may perhaps be of some service to the student of Plato and Aristotle, and, I venture to hope, of history.

In pursuance of this design then I am now to enter in fuller detail upon the early history of rhetoric, and to give a brief sketch of its earliest professors, that portentous growth of hydra heads which sprang out of the intellectual fermentation of the fifth century to the astonishment and horror of the soberminded and old-fashioned portion of the Greek people, and which no Iolaus could repress or subdue. And as we have been hitherto chiefly concerned with the Sophists who were contemporary with Plato—the adventurous Hercules who encountered the Sophistical hydra—or mentioned in his dialogues; and as one of the objects of this inquiry is to ascertain how far he was justified in the ridicule and reprobation which he so unsparingly heaped upon them, in our subsequent account of this their principal instrument of instruction and of mischief we shall still confine ourselves to those whom we meet with in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. This will carry us down to the time of Isocrates, by universal consent the most accomplished master of this school of Rhetoric.

Our sketch will exhibit them in the three characters which we before described; as rhetoricians in the modern and stricter sense of the word; as prose writers and men of literature; and as instructors or corruptors of youth; and we shall have therefore to take into account not only the rules they laid down and the system they pursued in their schools of Rhetoric, but also the style of their writings, the contributions they made to the infant studies of grammar, rhythm, criticism, and their art of composition in general, as well as the moral result which was likely to flow from their training. On these points our attention must be chiefly directed to the originators of the system, *the Sophists par excellence*.

In *all* these respects Plato, as we have already noticed, evidently held them very cheap; and the opinion of Aristotle, to judge from the passages previously cited from his writings, and others to be afterwards adduced, seems to have been not much

more favourable: and the recorded judgment of these two is entitled to the greater weight, not only from the respect due to their superior enlightenment and discrimination, but because they have traced out their intellectual character as a whole, and discussed all their pretensions, philosophical, literary, and educational together.

The *practice* of rhetoric, like the *use* of logic, is doubtless as old as human speech and human society. Some of the Greeks indeed ascribed to it a still earlier origin. One of the commentators on Hermogenes (Proleg. in Hermog. p. 4) quotes certain authors who carried it back to the gods. In support of this opinion they produced the verse of Homer, *Il. Δ. 1*, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζητὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο, which, said they, is an example of the *δημηγορικὸν γένος τῆς ῥητορικῆς*. From the gods it passed to the heroes; the speech of Priam, *Il. Γ. 182*, being an instance of the *ἐγκωμιαστικὸν εἶδος*. Similarly Nestor in his dialogue with Agamemnon gives specimens of the *συμβουλευτικὸν*, and Ulysses of the *δικανικὸν γένος*: and so finally it came down to the human race¹. "Dicta sunt omnia," says Quintilian, (*Inst. Orat. v. 10*), "antequam præciperentur: mox ea scriptores observata et collecta ediderunt."

Again, Eustathius² refers the origin of the *art* of rhetoric to Homer himself; who, he says, is the author of the entire art of words, and from whom are derived all sources of rhetorical systems, as rivers flow from the ocean; the great Homeric ocean-river, that is, that encircled the world. And further, he declares that from Homer is to be learnt the handling of the three kinds of oratory, the deliberative, judicial, and declamatory. Indeed when we consider the almost religious veneration which was paid by the Greeks to the authority of the first and greatest of their poets, and that his poems were popularly regarded amongst them as the repository of all arts and all knowledge sacred and

¹ Compare on this subject *Rhet. Anon. ap. Spengel. p. 210*, who quotes the same line of Homer with the same object. What he adds is curious, if not exactly true. "Now those who assert this do so with the view of magnifying the art: but the truth is, that it first made its appearance amongst the heroes, whence also the derivation of the name

fr. *ῥεῖν καὶ* (i.e.) *λέγειν*. This has been clearly shown by Homer, &c." See also, on the natural and Homeric origin of Rhetoric, Quintilian, *Inst. Orat. II. 17. 5 sq.* On the latter, Aul. Gell. *N. A. VII. 14. 7.*

² Eustath. *Proem. in Odys. p. 1379. ad II. B. p. 221. ap. Ernest. Præf. ad Lex. Techn. Græc. p. xxii.*

profane, it is not to be wondered at that the learned Archbishop of Thessalonica should have attributed to his favourite author the origin of such an art as rhetoric, for which, in fact, there was rather more justification than there usually was in cases of this kind. Indeed, Hermogenes (ap. Speng. p. 6) pronounces that "as poetry is an imitation of everything," it is the same thing to say that Homer is the best of poets, and the first of orators and composers of speeches.

But however majestically Agamemnon may have declaimed, however persuasively the aged Phoenix, or the honey-tongued Ulysses, or Nestor with his clear ringing voice, λεγὼς Πηλεΐων ἐγχαίτης, may have argued or pleaded in the verses of Homer; whatever may have been the force of Achilles' indignant invective, or of the pathetic pleadings of the bereaved Priam for the body of his murdered son; no system of rhetoric, λεγασὶ μύθοις, no rules of the art existed until towards the middle of the fifth century before Christ.

Even at Athens, the native home of eloquence (Cic. Brut.), before the arrival of Gorgias on the Leontine embassy in 427 B.C., or, at any rate, before the visit of Protagoras, who (Plat. Hipp. Maj. 282, D) seems to have been there somewhat earlier, no speech had been committed to writing¹. Up to this time no statesman or orator had thought of preserving any public harangue for the gratification of his contemporaries or the use of posterity, whatever amount of pains and labour he might have bestowed upon its composition². Even the calm and godlike

¹ The speeches in Thucydides are shown by the style alone, independently of all other considerations, to have been made up from notes and recollections of himself and others; the arguments of some he himself invented. See his own account of the matter, I. 22. Those of Herodotus scarcely pretend to be more than ornaments and illustrations, and lay no claim to genuineness or authenticity. On the speeches of Thucydides see further Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. c. xxxiv. § 8, and on speeches in history in general, Mure, Hist. Gr. Lit. Bk. IV. Ch. vii. § 12, Vol. IV. p. 499 sq.

² See Müller, op. cit. xxxi. 4.

Spengel, Art. Script. p. 61. Plat. Phædr. 257, D. Plat. Pericles, ἐγγράφῳ οὐδὲν ἀποθέσσειν πλὴν τῶν ψυφισμάτων. Müller takes no notice of the opposing statement of Cicero, Brut. vii. 27. Periclem, cujus scripta quedam feruntur. But this probably means no more than that there were in Cicero's time speeches which passed under his name, derived, like those of Thucydides, from notes or the recollections of some of his audience, or perhaps altogether spurious. This latter seems to have been Quintilian's opinion, Inst. Orat. III. i. 12. Cicero in Bruto negat ante Periclem scriptum quicquam, quod ornatum

dignity of Pericles' oratory, his weighty pregnant expressions¹ overfull of meaning², his lightning flashes of impetuosity³, the lively images which "he left in men's minds like the sting of a bee⁴," survived only in men's recollection as detached fragments, or as a vague general impression of divine power and dignity.

Sicily, as is well known, was the birthplace of the art of rhetoric, where in the kindly soil of the quick-witted, ready, and disputatious⁵ Sicilians, it speedily grew and flourished. The "invention" of the art is ascribed by Aristotle, ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 57, to Empedocles the poet and philosopher of Agrigentum: Sext. Empir. VII. 6, uses the more cautious phrase, *κεκινήκεται*, implying that he gave an impetus to the study, or set it in motion; a phrase which is translated by Quintilian, III. 1, "*movisse aliqua circa rhetoricen Empedocles dicitur*;" and is most likely the expression which Aristotle himself employed. Again, Aristotle in the passage of the *de Soph. El.* already quoted (supr. Vol. II. p. 158) names Tisias as having practised rhetoric *μετὰ*

oratorium habeat; ejus aliqua ferri. Equidem non reperio quicquam tanta eloquentiæ fama dignum: ideoque minus miror esse qui nihil ab eo scriptum putent; hæc autem quæ feruntur ab aliis esse composita.

¹ Periclis succus. Cic. de Orat. II. 22, § 93.

² Sententiis magis quam verbis abundans. Ib.

³ Περικλέης 'Οὐλύμπιος ἥστραπτ' ἐβρόντα. Arist. Acharn.

⁴ Eupolis Δήμοι Fr. 6. Meineke, II. 458. The same writer, a contemporary, says of him, that like a good runner he distanced all his competitors (in the oratorical race) by ten feet,

ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς

ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας

and again, "persuasion settled on his lips, so great was the charm of his words,"

πείθω τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖ-
λεσιν,

οὕτως ἐκλήλει· καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων

τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκρω-
μένοις.

The whole passage is translated by Cicero, de Orat. III. 34. 138; and again referred to, Brut. IX. 38. Cum delectatione etiam aculeos reliquisse in animis eorum a quibus esset auditus. Aristotle quotes two or three of the most remarkable of these "aculei." Rhet. I. 7, III. 4, III. 10, pp. 129, 19. 130, 1. The famous comparison in his funeral oration (which does not occur in Thucydides' version of it) of the fall of the youth in battle to the loss of the spring from the year, has been plagiarized with the most consummate impudence, and "disfigured to make it pass for his own," by Euripides, Suppl. 448.

⁵ Cic. Brut. XII. 46. Siculi acuta gens et controversa natura. In Verr. IV. 43. 95. Nunquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant. Like the modern Parisians, the Sicilians, in the very worst of times, had always some joke very much to the point (facetum et commodum) ready for the occasion.

roots *σπείρους*; meaning, most probably, our Spanish *chubasco* 2. 23, not.) Empedocles and Corax. LAMPERT, in his account of Empedocles, prefixed to his collection of the fragments of his poems, (p. 61), supposes that he taught rhetoric not only by example but also by precept: but of the latter he has no evidence to produce except the tradition that Gorgias was his pupil. He also labours, with a zeal and industry which deserved a more complete success, to find in his verses examples of antithesis and paronomasia, which he thinks Gorgias may have copied from him together with his dress, air, and demeanour, p. 74. In default of more precise evidence it seems safer to adopt Mr Grote's opinion upon the point, *Hist. of Greece*, viii. 444. "that the rhetoric ascribed to him may have consisted mainly in oral teaching or exposition of the same doctrines" (viz. his physical system and cosmogony before mentioned). At any rate, it is highly improbable that he committed to writing and published any thing in the nature of rhetorical rules or system.

But, to pass from the faint twilight of conjecture into the clearer region of history, the immediate occasion of its growth and cultivation, and the causes which impressed upon it the particular direction which it at first took, are stated by Cicero, from Aristotle's lost work, the *ῥητορικὴ ῥησιν*, in an often quoted passage of the *Brutus*, c. 12. He there tells us that the regular and systematic study of rhetoric originated in the requirements of the times succeeding the expulsion of the tyrants [viz. the Gelonian dynasty; Gelo and his brothers, Hiero and Thrasybulus, were tyrants in succession till B. C. 465, when the last was expelled. Grote, *H. Gr.* v. ch. 43, p. 316 sq.]. The citizens who had been banished and dispossessed of their property now returned and revived their claims, which led to a vast deal of litigation; and Corax and Tisias¹, the reputed inventors of the art, drew up a system and technical rules; whereas, before this period, though elaborate speeches had been made and committed to writing [i. e. if the assertion is true at all, only to assist the orator in the composition of his speech, not because such were supposed to have, like poems, an independent interest of their own] no one had composed by rule of art.

It was then the nature of the circumstances by which the new art was fostered and developed, as well as the superior

¹ Cic. *Brut.* c. 12; *de Orat.* I. 20, § 91; *Quint.* III. 1, II. 17. 7.

utility of the forensic branch of it; especially in democratic states, where every citizen was exposed to legal processes and obliged to plead his own cause; that led to the almost exclusive cultivation of the judicial kind of rhetoric, and the neglect of the nobler department of the art, the deliberative kind, on which Aristotle, Plato and Isocrates severely comment in passages already referred to. See ante, Vol. II pp. 164, 158, and the note there.

It was at this time, and in consequence of this state of affairs, that Corax, a man who had availed himself of his great oratorical powers to acquire influence amongst his fellow-citizens—and who thus furnishes another exemplification of the rule that in times of civil commotion and revolution the lawyers or men of words generally contrive to get uppermost—began to reduce to system and to commit to writing some rules of the art which “had taught himself to rise.” This *τέχνη* of Corax is noticeable not only as the earliest “art of rhetoric,” but also as the first theoretical book on any branch of art¹. Müll. Hist. Gr. Lit. XXXII. 3. One of the principal subjects treated in it seems to have been the technical division of a speech. Müll. l. c. This according to Corax was fivefold, *προοίμιον* (prelude, exordium), *διήγησις* (statement of the case, narratio, which, in its limited technical sense, belongs only to the forensic branch of rhetoric. Ar. Rhet. III. 13), *ἀγῶνες* (arguments in its support, or, more generally, the discussion of the arguments on either side), *παρέκβασις* (digression from the main subject, subsidiary and indirect arguments; apparently, such as an attack upon the character of your antagonist or an encomium upon your own; anything *πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῶν λεγομένων παρ’ αὐτοῦ*), and *ἐπίλογος* (peroratio, *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*, a review or summary of the principal points of the case). The explanations of these technical terms are taken from the Proleg. in Hermogenem, Spengel, p. 25. A more complicated and minute subdivision was subsequently introduced, and Plato in the Phædrus amuses himself at the expense of the inventors of many of these terms of art: but Isocrates had the merit of sweeping them all away, and reducing the parts of a speech to four, viz. *προοίμιον*, *διήγησις*, *πίστις*,

¹ It was probably written earlier than the treatise of Sophocles on the management of the Chorus mentioned

by Suidas, and that upon the proportions of the human body by Polyclethus the Sculptor.

ἐνδοξος; a division which was afterwards generally retained, though Cicero, *de Orat.* II. 19, 79, says that there were those who divided it into four, five, six, or even seven parts. The "natural" division, according to the same author, *de Or.* II. 79, 307, is into five parts, *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio*, *peroratio*, though subsequently, § 331, he seems to add a sixth, *propositio*, distinguishing it from *narratio*. In the same treatise, I. 19, 86, we are told that the writers on rhetoric "crammed" their works with disquisitions upon "trifles" like these, to the neglect of weightier matters. These contemptuous expressions belong to the philosopher Charmadas (or Charmides), whom Cicero quotes; and he further declares, that these men were not only absolutely devoid of the knowledge (of politics, the science of government, &c.) which they claimed, but were even ignorant of the true system and method of speaking. I have quoted this passage principally because it expresses an opinion in entire conformity with that of Plato upon the value of the sophistical contributions to the science of rhetoric. See ante, Vol. II. p. 154.

But to return from this digression. We learn from Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 24, p. 109. 8, that Corax's treatise pretended further to give instruction in the method of arguing a case, and the sources from which arguments might be derived. He confined himself however to the illustration of a single *τόπος*¹, that of *τὸ εἰκός*: a

¹ This technical term *τόπος*, and the Latin translation of it, *locus*, seem to have two meanings, sometimes including, sometimes distinguished from, *κοινὸς τόπος*, *locus communis*. When they are distinguished, the former signifies a topic, subject, or source of argument. *Sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur*. Cic. *Topic.* c. 2, answering to Bacon's *Topica*, *de Augm. Scient.* V. c. 3: the latter (*locus communis*) written illustrations of often-recurring topics or arguments on both sides of a disputed question; such as those which the Sophists gave their pupils to learn by heart, and of which Protagoras was the first composer. Cic. *Brut.* c. 12. Protagoras scripsit rerum illustrium disputationes, quæ nunc appellantur communes loci; Bacon's

Promptuaria, see ante, Vol. II. p. 159, not. They were called *κοινὸς*, *communes*, because they treat of generals or universals, and not particular instances. *Quia de universis re tractari solent*. Cic. *de Orat.* III. 27, § 106. Many passages are collected on this subject by Ernesti, *Lex. Techn. Gr. et Lat.* s. vv. *τόπος*, *locus*. *τόπος*, in the former, more general, sense, is defined by Aristotle, *Rhet.* I. 2. pp. 10. 22, 11. 10, and a great number of them enumerated, II. 23. He makes a distinction, which was not adopted by later writers, between *τόπος* and *εἰδη*: the former being sources of arguments which might be applied universally to all subjects, equally, as he says, to physics and ethics, and anything else; the latter, αἱ καθ' ἑκάστην γένος ὁρίαν προτάσεις,

mode of arguing which continued in fashion with the early sophistical rhetoricians, as we see by Plato's constant allusions to it. Aristotle exemplifies this *τόπος* by an illustration taken from Corax's own work, prefacing it with the words "and out of this *τόπος* Corax's art is entirely constructed." "For whether a man be not (naturally) liable to the charge brought against him, as for instance, if one weak in body be put upon his trial for an assault, [the *τόπος* of τὸ εἰκός may be made to apply], for [the defendant may plead] it was 'improbable:' or again, if he be (naturally) liable (to such a charge), as for instance, if the man be strong [it may be argued that (lit. the *τόπος* may again apply, for)] it is not likely, for it was likely to be thought so (i. e. likely). And similarly in all other cases: for a man must of necessity be liable or not liable to the charge, whatever it is: now both *seem* to be probable, but the one *is* so in reality, the other not absolutely, but in the way that has been explained." Aristotle had before "explained" the nature of the unfairness practised. It is, says he, an apparent (*φαινόμενον*) argument, resting on a confusion between general and special probability (i. e. that which is generally probable and that which is so only under given conditions of time, place and circumstance) as Agathon (a disciple of this school) says,

τάχ' ἂν τις εἰκὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγει
βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα¹.

"for improbabilities do come to pass, so that even what is contrary to probability is probable; but if so, the improbable is probable. But it is not so absolutely and generally; but as in the case of the *ἐριστικοὶ* (debaters for debate's sake, quibblers, sophistical sham-philosophers) the cheat is produced by the omission of the circumstances, relation, and mode, so here too 'the being contrary to probability,' is not an absolute but a special probability." This rhetorical mine of τὸ εἰκός was worked likewise by Tisias the pupil with similar zeal and assiduity, as we learn from Plato, *Phædr.* 273, B, where with a slight variation the same illustration is given as that which Aristotle attri-

only supplied arguments adapted to a special given subject. But subsequently *all* sources of arguments, and *all* general topics were included under the term *τόπος*: thus the *τόποι* ἐγκω-

μαστικοὶ are stated by Menander to be, γένος, γένεσις, φύσις, ἀνατροφή, παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα.

¹ Comp. Poet. 18. p. 172. 6.

butes to the *ρέχη* of Corax. "Then let Tisias tell us this again, whether he means by 'the probable' anything else but the opinion of the mob." "Why what else can he mean?" "Well then it seems he introduced into his treatise the following rule, at once ingenious and artistic, which he had discovered, that if one that is weak but courageous be put upon his trial for beating and robbing of his cloak or anything else a strong coward, in that case neither of them is to speak the truth, but the coward is to say that the brave man was not alone when he knocked him down, whilst the other is to refute him on this point by showing that they were alone, and to throw in this argument into the bargain: (*καταχρήσασθαι*, to squander or lavish upon his case), 'And how was it likely that a man such as I should have attacked a fellow like that?' The other will take good care not to admit his own poltroonery, but will try to coin some other lie, and so perhaps some how or other give his adversary an opportunity of convicting him. And upon all other points the precepts of the art are very much of the same kind."

Antiphon too, who though not actually a disciple of the sophistical school of rhetoricians, was yet so much under their influence that he may fairly be reckoned amongst them, employs this same method of arguing in the three surviving school exercises (*μελέραι*) called Tetralogies¹. An analysis of the first of them, showing the use which is made of this *τόπος*, is given by Müller, *Hist. Gk. Lit.* xxxiii. 2, and it occurs likewise in the other two.

Corax's "art" may therefore be properly defined as "the art of cheating:" it contained nothing like science or system, unless the technical division of the speech deserves to be so called; it confined itself to a single topic, and gave a series of practical illustrations, (one of which Aristotle quotes as a specimen) showing how the quibble above described might be turned to account. It resembled, to use Aristotle's illustration of the pre-Socratic philosophy, the imperfect lisping stammering utterance of an infant²; and was the childish—childlike in all but

¹ So called because each of them consists of four parts, viz. a speech and reply by both plaintiff and defendant.

² *Ὡελλίζομένη δ' οἶκεν ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία.* Arist. *Metaph. A.*

the simplicity and innocence of childhood—commencement of an art which attained its scientific maturity in Aristotle's own work on the subject. Hence too the early definition of rhetoric, *πειθοῦς δημιουργός*, a definition which prevailed, as we have seen, to the time of Isocrates, who is erroneously named as the author of it by Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* II. 15. 4.

The *practice* of the new art which was in strict conformity with the precepts, is amusingly illustrated by a story told of the intercourse between Corax and his pupil Tisias¹. It is related in the *Prolegom. ad Hermog.* (Spengel, p. 26), and if not true, at any rate deserves to be quoted for the light it throws upon the nature of the new art and the character of its professors in the estimation of the public who invented, circulated and believed it. Besides, "There be bricks alive at this day"—the proverb namely, which is quoted at the conclusion—to testify to the truth of it. It relates how after Tisias had under the instructions of his master qualified himself for practice in the courts of law, he refused to pay him his fee: and upon being brought to trial for the breach of engagement he placed Corax in the following dilemma. Corax, he asked, what did you profess to teach me? To persuade any one you please, replies Crowe. Well then, if so, answered Tisias, I persuade you to forego your promised fee, and so have nothing to pay: but on the other hand, if I have not persuaded you, you have failed to fulfil your engagement, and so I owe you nothing. To which Mr Crowe is reported to have replied "in the same figure" (*ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ σχήματι*). If I taught you to persuade, and so enabled you to persuade me not to accept my fee, you ought to pay it me because I have taught you what I undertook to teach: or if again you fail to persuade me to refuse it, still you ought to pay me because you have not persuaded me not to accept anything. Whereupon the judges instead of a verdict are said to have pronounced the following sentence, which passed into a proverb, *κακοῦ Κόρακος κακὰ ᾠά*. "Bad Crow, bad eggs²."

¹ The same story, with alterations and additions, which can scarcely be said to improve it, is told by Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* v. 10, of Protagoras and his wealthy pupil Euathlus.

² Spengel seems to be led a little too far in his ardour to establish the credit of his rhetorical authority, when he quotes in support of it, *Cic. de Orat.* III. 21. 81, as a proof that Cicero recognised

This story—which may be considered as in some measure warranted by the existence of the proverb—shows us in what purposes the infant practice of rhetoric would be applied, and may help to illustrate the character of its earliest professors. It reminds us very strongly of the object which Strepsiades has in view when he repairs to the Socratic “learning establishment” to learn the art—sophistry he called it.—namely, to make the worse appear the better cause, and so delude his creditors. I presume that no one will venture to assert that the cause of truth and justice was likely to be much aided by the practice of Corax and Tisias, the “inventors of the art of Rhetoric.”

Tisias appears to have enjoyed a greater celebrity as a teacher and writer upon rhetoric than his master, and hence the invention of the art is sometimes ascribed to him. Thus in Cic. de Inv. II. 2. 6, he is spoken of as princeps atque inventor, the author and originator of it, the identical terms which he applies to Corax and Tisias, de Orat. I. 39. 91; and even Plato in the Phædrus takes no notice of Corax: but by the way in which he singles out Tisias and sets him up to be talked at and instructed in the true art of rhetoric, 273. a—274. a, he seems to select him as the founder, or at least as the representative, of his school. His method of instruction is thus described in the same dialogue, 267. a. “And shall we let Tisias and Gorgias rest in oblivion? Who saw that probability was more to be valued than truth, and again make (in their then extant writings) by force of words the small appear great and the great small, and give the new an old fashioned appearance, and make the opposite seem new¹, and invented for all subjects

the proverb, and so becomes a witness of the truth of the story. The passage runs thus: Quare Coracem istum vestrum patiamur nos quidem pullos suos excludere in nido, qui evolent, clamatores odiosi ac molesti. “Therefore let us by all means allow your friend Crowe to hatch his young in the nest, in order that they may fly away—the odious tiresome praters,” [or bawlers—noisy wretches—not “croakers.” See c. 34, § 138, Hunc non clamator aliquis (rhe-

toricæ magister) ad clepsydram latrare docuerat—where he is a dog and not a bird, cf. de Clar. Or. c. 49]. Here it is manifest that Cicero is alluding to no proverb at all, but merely making a very obvious pun upon the word Corax—a pun which nothing but our respect for his great name and reputation could prevent us from pronouncing a very indifferent one.

¹ I have followed Ast in my translation, though φαίνομαι ποιοῦν δοχῶς is

rules for conciseness and indefinite expansion¹. But when I once told Prodicus this he burst out laughing, and said that he himself was the only real discoverer of the sort of speech required by the rules of art: and what *was* required was that it should be neither too long nor too short, but just of the proper length." From this description we may gather that in Tisias' treatise and manner of instruction there was nothing of scientific value, no higher object was aimed at than the inculcation of a few tricks and artifices in reasoning and composition which might be available in practice to impose on the understandings and tickle the ears of an ignorant and excitable audience. The *τέχνη* of Tisias which contained all these valuable *récipes* and specifics is referred to Phædr. 273, A, and would seem to have been an enlarged and corrected edition of the preceding "art" of Corax. He is mentioned also by Aristotle, de Soph. Elench. p. 183. b. 31², as one of the earliest and most distinguished contributors to the regular and methodical treatment of the subject. *Τισίας μὲν μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους*—the *οἱ πρώτοι* being, it is to be presumed, Empedocles and Corax—at least we know of none earlier than they. We are informed by Pausanias that he accompanied his pupil Gorgias to Athens on the embassy which

somewhat doubtful Greek. To understand with Stallbaum *λέγειν διδάσκουσι* from the preceding words is intolerably harsh, and, I think, inadmissible.

¹ These words are probably taken from the *τέχνη* of Tisias or Gorgias. Isocrates, the pupil of the latter, employs exactly the same language in describing the power of rhetoric, Paneg. p. 42, § 8. *οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν φύσιν ὥστ' ὅλον τ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ τε μέγαλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος περιθεῖναι, καὶ τὰ τε παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγενημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν.*

² In noticing this passage again, I must take the opportunity of acknowledging and apologizing for an unintentional injustice which I did to the early professors of Rhetoric, in the use I made of it in a former article, Journal,

Vol. II. p. 159. Aristotle makes no "complaint" of any of the Rhetoricians except Gorgias, and, by implication, of those who followed the same method. Indeed in a very unphilosophical spirit of self-commendation he is comparing the considerable progress made in the study of Rhetoric with the absolute non-existence of the kindred science of logic, until it sprang, like Minerva, in complete panoply—or rather perhaps like a hedgehog with all its prickles erect—out of his own teeming brain. It is evident, however, from the disparaging remarks (quoted p. 157) with which he opens his treatise on Rhetoric, that when he talks in the other place of the great progress made in that study, he is referring merely to the extent and amount, and not to the value, of the contributions made to the art by its earlier practitioners.

the Leontines dispatched in 427 (Thucyd. iii. 86) to invite the aid of the Athenians against the encroachments of Syracuse. He is also said to have joined the new colony of Thurii on its foundation, where he gave instruction to the orator Lysias. He afterwards came into Greece, and there, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, together with Prodicus and Gorgias enjoyed the privilege of contributing to form the mind and taste of the youthful Isocrates. I believe this is all that is known about him. Tisias is one of the somewhat numerous omissions in Smith's Dictionary of Biography.

We must now take notice of the contributions of the early Sophists to the nascent studies of grammar, prosody, and criticism—prose composition and style in general being treated by the ancients as a branch of Rhetoric. We shall find that what Aristotle says of arts in general is especially true of these, τὰ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εὐρισκόμενα μικρὸν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνειν εἶθε.... ὅπερ...συμβέβηκε, σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπείρους τέχνας. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐρόντες παντελῶς ἐπὶ μικρὸν τι προήγαγον.

Amongst the earlier professors of Rhetoric two different tendencies in taste and style of composition manifested themselves from the outset; impressed upon them severally by local influences, and the taste prevailing in the place of their birth or education or the scene of their exertions. The several aims of these two classes of rhetoricians may be expressed by two terms which we find applied to Protagoras and Polus in Plato, though they are not employed by him in a technical sense. The Sicilian school, of which Gorgias, Polus, and their follower Alcidas may be taken as representatives, made εὐτεία, "ornate, fine speaking," their object; the Greek school, of which Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippias were the leading members, aimed at ὀρθοετία, correct speaking and composition¹. It is to be observed that the former style, which has been already described, Vol. II. p. 160, popular as it was at its first appearance, never gained a permanent footing at Athens: it was of course eminently unsuitable for the law-courts², for which most of the extant speeches

¹ This was first pointed out by Spengel, Art. Script.

² See Isocr. Panath. § 1. τοὺς (sc. λόγους) ἀπλῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντας καὶ μὴ

δεμῶς κομψόγητος μετέχοντας, [as for example the ἀφελὴς λόγος of Lysias] οὗς οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παραιοῦσι τοῖς νεωτέροις μελετᾶν.

were written; but even in Isocrates, the pupil of its most distinguished representative, to whose subjects and mode of treating them it might have seemed more germane, it appears only in a very modified and subdued form, chiefly in the shape of elaborate antitheses (*ἀντικειμένη λέξις*), on which indeed his style is based, see Müller, H. Gr. L. xxxvi. 4, 5.

The "Greek" rhetoricians are consequently those to whom the sciences of grammar and philology owe their origin; and Protagoras has the credit of being the first who attracted attention to the subject. The contents of his work which he named *Ὀρθοείπεια*, mentioned by Plato, Phædr. 267, c, are to some extent matter of conjecture, as we have no precise account of the nature of them, and the word itself may include etymological investigations, discriminations of words, the correct choice of proper words (*κυριολεξία*), the proper forms of words, as well as grammatical and philological speculations; and all these subjects seem to have been handled by Protagoras and the Sophists. But the etymological speculations of Protagoras we know from Cratylus, 391, c, to have been contained in another work, the *Ἀλήθεια*, as Stallb. rightly infers from Hermogenes' reply in the passage referred to: and the opinion of Spengel is probably correct, that it touched merely upon some elementary points of grammar and similar matters. He adds that it was not of a systematic or scientific character, and that the precepts it contained were probably of a somewhat trifling kind¹.

Without venturing therefore to pronounce positively upon this point, we will proceed to enumerate the extant specimens of his lucubrations on this and kindred subjects, and leave it in the doubt in which it is likely to remain to which of his numerous works they severally belonged.

We are informed by Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 5, that Protagoras was the first who distinguished the genders of nouns—meaning of course not that he was the first who said *ὁ λόγος, ἡ οἰκία*, but that he first attempted to classify nouns of the three genders, and gave them general names. The names he gave them were *ἄρρενα, θήλεα, and σκεύη*. The latter were afterwards called more

¹ *Ὀρθοείπεια* media erat inter rhetoricam et grammaticam. R. and Pr. H. Ph. Gr. § 184, not.

appropriately τὰ μεταξὺ ὀνόματα, Poet. c. 21, p. 176. 8, de Soph. El. 14. 173, b. 29, before they settled into their final designation οὐδέτερα, neutra. The term σκεῦος may be extended so as to comprehend all things composite and artificial, comp. Plat. Soph. 219, A¹; and so may stand for all inanimate objects of which it actually includes a large portion. I gather from a passage of the de Soph. El. p. 173, b. 40, that Protagoras' classification depended on the *real* distinction of objects into animate and inanimate, those which have sex and those which have none, and was not the artificial classification of Greek grammar. His three classes consisted of males, females, and inanimate objects which have no sex². The reason for the name assigned by Liddell and Scott in their Lexicon, "because most neuters in -ον denote an implement," is not true; and if it were, would not account for the designation, for there are many other neuter terminations besides -ον in the Greek language. He seems to have assigned a particular gender to each termination of nouns, and to have proposed to accommodate the termination to its gender, by altering either the termination or the gender when it did not suit his rule—at least this seems to be implied in the following passage of Aristotle, de Soph. Elench. 14, p. 173, b. 17: "What a solecism is has been explained before. A man may make one, or he may make an apparent but not a real one, or one that is real but not apparent, as Protagoras said, if μῆνις and πῆληξ are masculine: for according to him, if any one says οὐλομένην (referring to the second line of the Iliad) he is guilty of a solecism, but does not appear to be so to the rest of the world; whereas the man who says οὐλόμενον appears to be guilty of one, but is not so in reality." From this we may infer that Protagoras held -ις and -ηξ to be masculine terminations, and would have altered the

¹ Τὸ ξύμπαντον καὶ πλαστόν, ὃ δὲ σκεῦος ὀνομάζαμεν.

² The words of Aristotle are, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λεγομένων μὲν σκευῶν, ἐχόντων δὲ θηλείας ἢ ἀρρενὸς κλήσιν (i. e. which are classed as σκεῦη, but have a masc. or femin. termination and article, and so pass for masc. or femin.) ὅσα γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὁ καὶ τὸ ἢ τελευτᾷ, ταῦτα μόνον σκεύους ἔχει κλήσιν, οἷον ξύλον, σχοίνιον, τὰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἀρρενὸς ἢ θηλείας, ὧν ἓνα φέρομεν

ἐπὶ τὰ σκεῦη, οἷον ἄσκηδιν μὲν ἀρρενὸς τοῦτομα, κλίνην δὲ θηλίαν. The passage seems to me to proceed upon the supposition that all inanimate objects are properly called σκεῦη, but in the more limited sense of the word, and in the vulgar apprehension, only those which have a neuter termination and article (of which the termination ὄν is taken as an instance) receive that appellation.

gender in conformity¹. But in Aristophanes, Nub. 668—692, he is made—for Protagoras, and not Socrates, is the real culprit here—to alter the terminations of ἀλεκτρύων and κάρδοπος to suit the feminine gender—and “the occasion is improved” by the poet to throw in some doubts about the sex, and therefore the proper termination, of Κλεώνυμος and Ἀμυνίας.

Protagoras likewise treated of the divisions of the λόγος², and

¹ Alexander ad loc. ὡς Πρωταγόρας· οὗτος γὰρ τὸν μῆνον καὶ τὸν πῆληκα ἔλεγε . . . ὥστ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐφαίνετο σολοικίζειν ὁ λέγειν τὴν μῆνον καὶ τὴν πῆληκα, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ. Gräfenhan, Gesch. der Philol. § 25. p. 116, supposes Protagoras' theory to refer to substantives of two genders, or of different genders in different dialects: er hält es für ein sprachfehler, he adds, wenn man z. B. ein in attischer sprache als masculin gebräuchliches wort mit Homer als feminin gebrauchen wollte. He takes no notice of the scholium of Alexander, which directly contradicts his explanation; nor of the passage quoted p. 49, not. 2, which is, I confess, very difficult to bring into harmony with the others.

² Brandis in his article on Protagoras, Smith's Dict. of Biogr. Vol. III., and Dr Donaldson, New Crat. § 125, note, assert that he distinguished the moods of verbs, and Brandis adds “tenses;” for the latter statement there is certainly no foundation, (can Brandis have been misled by the words καὶ πρῶτος μέρη χρόνου διώρισε, which occur in Diogenes, IX. 52?), and I do not think that the words of Diogenes, IX. 53, Aristotle, Poet. c. 19, and still less those of Quintilian, III. 4, § 10, the authors appealed to in support of the opinion, justify this interpretation. Diogenes says, διείλε τὸν λόγον πρῶτος εἰς τέσσαρα, εὐχολήν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν, which Quintilian translates. Now supposing that by εὐχολή we may understand the optative, and by ἐντολή the imperative, what moods do ἐρώτησις and ἀπόκρισις represent? and why are

the indicative and subjunctive omitted? even if we were to allow that Protagoras was so far in advance of the grammatical notions of antiquity as to have anticipated the view of some modern grammarians (Dr Latham for example, English Language, Pt. IV. c. 17, § 342 sq.) that the infinitive is no mood of the verb at all. But the whole context of Diogenes and Quintilian shows that they are speaking of something different. After the words already quoted Diogenes proceeds thus: οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐπτά, διήγησιν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν, ἀπαγγελίαν, εὐχολήν, κλήσιν, οὓς καὶ πυθμένας εἶπε λόγων. This with the exception of κλήσις is Aristotle's division, Poet. c. 19. p. 172. 29. He calls them σχήματα τῆς λέξεως, and adds the observation, ὅτι ἐστὶν εἰδέναι τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς καὶ τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχοντος ἀρχιτεκτονικῆν, οἷον τί ἐντολή, καὶ τί εὐχή καὶ διήγησις καὶ ἀπειλή καὶ ἐρώτησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον. Ἀλκιδάμας δὲ, continues Diogenes, τέτταρας λόγους φησὶ, φάσιν, ἀπόφασιν, ἐρώτησιν, προσαγόρευσιν. Either of these classifications will be found still more difficult to identify with the moods of verbs than that of Protagoras: yet it is obvious that they all proceed upon the same principle, and have the same intention. That intention seems to aim at the classification of all expressions of thought, or speech (λόγος) in general. Gräfenhan, Gesch. der Philol. § 23. p. 114, and § 26. p. 118, considers it “problematical” whether Protagoras meant to distinguish “moods of the verb,” or “modes of speech.” In an

classified modes of expression under four heads, question, answer, prayer, and command. Aristotle calls them *σχήματα τῆς λέξεως*, "figures of speech," Poet. c. 19, and adds to these four narration (*διήγησις*, which might stand for the indicative were there any question of the moods of the verb), and menace (*ἀπειλή*); other attempts of a like kind are enumerated by Diogen. Laert. ix. 53, and Quintil. iii. 4, §§ 9, 10. The use to which Protagoras put his classification is illustrated by an example in Aristotle, l. c., who introduces the criticism with the remark that it is not of any particular value as applied to poetry—and I think he need not have confined his remark to poetry; if the specimen he gives is a fair sample of Protagorean criticism—"for what mistake can one suppose to have been made in what Protagoras finds fault with, that (the poet) namely, intending a prayer expresses a command when he says, *μήνυθι δαΐδα θεά?* for to bid a person, says he, to do or not to do anything is an order."

One of the subjects of instruction at the Socratic thinking-establishment in the Nubes is prosody, the art of versification, and rhythm, *περί μέτρων ἢ περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ ῥυθμῶν*, v. 638, from which, as well as other passages, we may conclude that Protagoras and the Sophists then known at Athens speculated and taught in such matters—*ῥη* must of course mean "verses," and not "words," as

anonymous Rhet. (Spengel, p. 209) we find two more such classifications illustrated by examples, which will, I think, settle the question. The first is that of the Peripatetics—they divided the λόγος into five heads—*εὐκτικός, προστακτικός, ἐρωτηματικός, ἀποφαντικός, κλητικός*. These *modes* are illustrated by three imperative and two indicative moods, contained in four passages from Homer, and one from a comic poet whose name is not given. To these five the Stoics added other six, viz. *πυσματικός, ἐπαπορητικός* (both modifications of the ἐρωτηματικός), *θαυμαστικός, ἐπομοτικός, διασαφητικός, ὑποθετικός*; which are all illustrated by indicatives. Καὶ τούτων μὲν οἱ Περικατητικοὶ τὸν πυσματικὸν καὶ τὸν ἐπαπορητικὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρωτηματικὸν λόγον ἀνάγουσι πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ

τούτο διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τὸν ἀναφαντικὸν ἀνάγουσιν, καθὼ ἐνδέχεται καὶ ψευδῇ εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῇ. Hæc divisio, say Ritter and Preller, Hist. Phil. § 184, not., quanquam ad rhetoricam potius quam ad grammaticam pertinet, (cf. Quintil. l. c.) tamen ad verbi quoque modos observandos et distinguendos adhibebatur. It was so applied, because these propositions must be expressed by verbs, but was not a complete distinction of moods, nor apparently intended to be so. What follows is really too bad: Sicuti alia insuper Protagoras inani grammaticorum principiorum ostentatione novare conabatur—and all this because the poor man distinguished the three genders of substantives!

Spengel believes, who supposes it to refer to the "words" and their genders afterwards discussed—*ῥυθμοί* most likely included the cultivation of harmonious writing in prose as well as in verse. In Aristotle's *Rhetoric* there is a chapter, iii. 8, upon the rhythm of prose composition, in which all the feet and measures which belong properly to verse are referred to and discussed; and the treatment of this subject continued to find place in all arts of *Rhetoric*. No doubt Protagoras' instructions in this department embraced the use of some of the rhetorical figures which were now coming into vogue, the object of which was to give a measured harmony to the speech, and to compensate the ear for the loss of the cadences of verse, which constituted the greater portion of the then existing literature, and by which the taste of the audience had been formed and cultivated.

Another favorite occupation of the Sophists was the criticism of the poets: a specimen of Protagoras' talents in this department, given by Plato in the dialogue of the same name, is too well known to need further comment. Protagoras' principal work, the *Ἀλήθεια*, which contained the exposition of his philosophical principles, was also partly occupied with speculations on language and etymology¹. The nature of these we may partly infer from Plato's *Cratylus*, cc. iii. iv. They went under the general name of *περὶ ὀνομάτων ὁρθότητος*, which may signify, the right meaning, or the right use, or the right derivation of words. His theory of language seems to have been supplementary to his great philosophical doctrine, *πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος*; as man is the measure of all truth, so he is the measure of words: language is as arbitrary, and uncertain, and fluctuating as everything else: *ὁ ἅν ἕκαστος φῆ τῷ ὀνόματι εἶναι, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἕκαστῳ ὀνομα...καὶ ὅποσα ἂν φῆ τις ἕκαστῳ ὀνόματα εἶναι, τοσαῦτα ἔσται· καὶ τότε ὀπίσταν φῆ. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχω ἔγωγε*, says Hermogenes, who lays down the principle in general terms, *ὀνόματος ἄλλην ὁρθότητα ἢ ταύτην, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἕτερον εἶναι* (i. e. *ἐξεῖναι*) *καλεῖν ἕκαστῳ ὀνομα ὃ ἐγὼ ἐθέμην, σοὶ δὲ ἕτερον ὃ ἂν σύ.* Just as cities, he continues, have different names applied to them by Greeks and barbarians, and one is just as good and as true as the other. From such a theory the paradox maintained by the Sophists, and by Aristophanes, easily follows: *ὥς οὐκ ἔστι ψευδὴ λέγειν*, or in other words, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν*—for the two are identical (see Euthydem. 286, c); and both were held by "Protagoras and his followers,"

¹ Compare the passage before cited, *Cratyl.* 391, B, c.

οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρωταγόραν, Euthyd. l. c. However, the paradox is immediately derived from the denial of the existence of τὸ μὴ εἶναι: but the philological and philosophical doctrines of "Protagoras and his followers" were consistent in their sceptical absurdity.

Another use which was made of Etymology by some of the Sophists was to employ it in support of their peculiar opinions in defiance of reason and common sense, by assigning derivations which harmonized with their views to the terms expressing their leading principles, or the great objects with which their philosophy was conversant, or nature, or the gods; as when an Orphic derives σῶμα from σώζω; δοκοῦσι θέσθαι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφεα τοῖτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς δίκην διδούσης τῆς ψυχῆς...τοῦτον δὲ περίβολον ἔχειν ἵνα σώζηται, δισμωτηρίου εἰκόνα, Cratyl. 400, c; or when a Heraclitean derives ῥέα and Κρόνος from ῥεῖν and κρονός, lb. 402, b. This was especially the practice of the Heracliteans, and therefore Cratylus, the living representative of that sect, is chosen to give a name to the dialogue. A string of etymologies is suggested for their benefit in accordance with their tenet of the universal flux, p. 411 sq., as φρόνησις from φορᾶς καὶ ροῦ νόησις, or from φορᾶς ὄνησις; ἀρετή from ἀεὶ ῥεῖν ἀειρείη, and so forth—most of which are indeed "extemporised" by Plato; but in order to show that his derivations are no caricatures, he tells us that perhaps the absurdest of them all, δίκαιον from διαῖον (to express the "pervading" nature of justice), the κ being added εὐστομίας ἕνεκα, had been actually proposed by some of these philosophers. To combat such a perversion of the study of language, and to meet such speculators on their own ground, by showing them that their own weapons might be employed with equal effect against themselves, and that words so derived and interpreted might be made to support any philosophical views whatever, is the object of the burlesque dialogue of the Cratylus: and we find in this the key to the solution of that riddle which so long baffled the ingenuity of ancient and modern commentators of Plato. See on this subject Donaldson, New Cratylus, § 60.

Now without disparaging the ingenuity and versatile genius of Protagoras, and fully admitting the truth of the observation of Aristotle above quoted, that the first steps in all arts, though the most important, are apt to make a very small advance in the subject, I think we must allow from the specimens above detailed—and they are all that I can find recorded—that his

speculations in the incipient sciences of grammar, philology, logic and criticism were not of a very valuable or important character; even where they were not positively mischievous, as some of them appear to have been. His distinction of the genders of nouns is certainly useful but not very recondite; in the rest I confess I can see little merit.

Here therefore as elsewhere the sophist and charlatan betrays himself. Protagoras was undoubtedly a very remarkable man, of great and varied ability, and of a very active and inquiring mind; and he played a most important part in bringing about the great intellectual revolution which characterized the age in which he lived and speculated and quibbled¹. His office was to set men thinking, and so to prepare the way for better things: and this he undoubtedly effected. But all sceptics heretics and rash innovators have the same merit and the same excuse; and amongst them I believe Protagoras must be ranked. Of the mischievous nature of his rhetorical instructions and practice so much has been already said that it would be tedious now to recur to it: and it is all the more unnecessary as it became proverbial, and "the profession of Protagoras" passed into a byword. Before we take our final leave of this Sophist, who exercised beyond all doubt a far deeper and more lasting influence upon the speculations views and habits of his contemporaries than any of his rival candidates for notoriety, though perhaps less showy and popular than Gorgias, we will remark that he seems to have been the first to introduce the practice which was continued afterwards in the rhetorical schools, of writing declamations, and arguments upon popular and often recurring topics, chiefly for the purpose we may suppose of exercising the memory, improving the taste, and supplying the deficiency of inventive power in his rhetorical pupils. Protagoras scripsit et paravit rerum illustrium disputationes, quæ nunc appellantur communes loci. Cic. Brut. c. 12. § 45. Besides these, and the works already mentioned, he also wrote on various subjects. Plato, in the Sophist, 232, D, alludes to his τέχνη ἀντιλογιών or ἐριστικῶν, which appear to have been collections of logical and philosophical theses on opposite sides of different questions, similar to the communes loci in rhetoric. πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους

¹ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφ' ἑλς πρὸς τοῦτομα ἐριστικῶν ἐγέννησεν.—Diog. Laert. IX. διελέχθη καὶ τὸ εὖν ἐπιτόλαιον γένος τῶν 52.

εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις. Diog. Laert. ix. 51. Protagoras ait de omni re in utramque partem disputari posse. Senec. Epist. 88. (Gerlach, Hist. Stud. p. 102.) This axiom—which seems to imply not only that every question has two sides, but that either side may be maintained with equal plausibility and justice—is easily deducible from his avowed philosophical principles, and the denial of objective truth which they involved, and leads directly to his rhetorical practice. The only wonder is that with such notions he should have admitted that the one side of a question was “inferior” (ἥττω) to the other at all. The work (or works) mentioned by Plato is no doubt one of those to which Aristotle refers de Soph. El. p. 183. b. 36. It is doubtful whether the words περὶ πάλης in Plato l. c. refer to a separate work or to an illustration, or to one of the subjects of the ἀντιλογίαί. Schleiermacher is of the latter opinion. Diogenes Laertius, ix. 8. 55, mentions also as extant treatises of Protagoras, περὶ μαθημάτων, περὶ πολιτείας, περὶ φιλοτιμίας, περὶ ἀρετῶν, περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως, περὶ τῶν ἐν ἁδου, περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσσομένων, Προστακτικὸς, Δίκη ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ. He speaks of περὶ ἐριστικῶν, ἀντιλογικῶν δύο, and περὶ πάλης, as distinct works. It is not easy to understand why Schleiermacher should suppose the list of titles in Diogenes to have been made up by him out of the passage of Plato's Sophist. There is not even the most distant allusion in it to most of the subjects of that list. And the form of the word προσσομένων is evidence, as far as it goes, that the title in which it occurs was written by Protagoras himself, and not made for him by Diogenes. A classification of Protagoras' works is attempted by Gerlach, Hist. Stud. p. 65. The importance of Protagoras as a philosophical speculator, and the influence which he thereby exercised upon his generation, the prominent position which he occupies in the Platonic dialogues, and the fact that he was the first to draw attention to many of the subjects which we have been discussing, seemed to call for a detailed examination. The rest of his “Greek” contemporaries will not occupy us so long.

Another branch of the study of language which was first brought into prominence by the Sophists, was the distinction of synonyms, that is, of words which express only different modifications of the same idea, and were therefore used by poets and popular writers, and in familiar language, as identical. Gräfenhan,

Geschichte der Philologie, § 37, b, observes that it was natural that this phenomenon should first attract attention in the case of appellatives; and cites various instances from Homer, Pindar and other poets of double names of places, persons and objects, the older of which is usually attributed by them to the gods. It was equally natural that various names in familiar use, expressive of parts or modifications of the same idea, especially when the ideas are abstract—as for example, names of virtues and qualities in general—should remain long uncatalogued and undistinguished, and should not attract attention till an age when philosophical discussions, and with them more accurate habits of thought, became common. Many of the Sophists, and their scholars, the rhetoricians, seem to have taken up the subject and introduced such distinctions, sometimes a little obtrusively, into their speeches and writings. Gräfenhan, l. c. p. 178, supposes that Gorgias and Protagoras were the first to deal with it, though the evidence which he has to bring forward is by no means conclusive; and cites one or two examples from the speeches of Antiphon and Isocrates, p. 181. But the Sophist who bestowed most attention upon it was Prodicus, and he is usually quoted by Plato and others as the great master of this branch of the art.

“The art of Prodicus,” as it was called, was concerned with another kind of *ὀρθότεια* or *ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης*, the right use of words, and the distinctions of those popularly regarded as synonymous. His treatment of this very important subject seems to have often ended, like the sophistical efforts at science in general, in elaborate affectation and trifling.

The speech assigned to him in Plato's *Protagoras*, p. 337, A, is usually looked upon as a caricature; though the only evidence of its being so is derived from preconceived notions of the man's character and Plato's propensity to satire. However, supposing this to be the case, the ridicule is directed rather against the undue multiplication and untimely introduction of verbal distinctions—a vice into which Prodicus, like other inventors forming an exaggerated estimate of the value of his own discoveries, may easily be supposed to have fallen—than against the propriety of distinguishing terms; the importance of which it is impossible to suppose a man like Plato could have overlooked.

Specimens of his skill and industry in this department of science are pretty numerous in Plato's works: some of them being attributed to Prodicus himself, whilst others are given as after his manner. My readers may judge for themselves of their value by consulting the following passages, *Protag.* 337, A. 340, B. 341, A. 350, E. 358, A. *Lach.* 197, A, D. *Charm.* 163, A, D. *Euthyd.* 277, E. *Meno*, 75, E. From *Lach.* 197, C, we infer that similar attempts were made with less success by the other Sophists. It may perhaps somewhat diminish our suspicion of the fidelity of Plato's portrait, when we observe that in two of the instances above quoted the distinction is Prodicus' own—only in one of them slightly altered—which will appear from a comparison of *Protag.* 337, C, and 358, A, with *Arist. Topic.* II. 6. p. 112. b. 21.¹ We have before noticed, Vol. II. p. 160 and note, the injurious influence which Prodicus exercised upon the style of Thucydides; it is also perceptible in the speeches of Antiphon, who belongs to the sophistical school of rhetoricians, and whose use of the *τρόπος* of τὸ εἰκός, derived from the τέχνη of Corax or Tisias, we have already had occasion to mention. See Müll. H. Gr. Lit. XXXIII. 4.

His speculations on the *ὀνομάτων ὁρθότης* were conveyed in the famous fifty-drachm lecture, which Socrates, *Cratyl.* 384, B, so deeply regrets not to have heard, as it would have supplied him with a complete knowledge of the subject, and superseded the necessity of any further discussion. The phrase *ὀνομάτων ὁρθότης* admits, as I have before remarked, of various interpretations. Spengel, p. 47, who is followed by Welcker in *Rhein. Mus.* I. p. 559 and p. 25, confines it in this passage to what he calls "The art of Prodicus;" the discrimination namely of words closely related in sense. But not to mention that this would have been a somewhat meagre subject for a fifty-drachm lecture, and hardly of a nature to warrant the use which Prodicus, according to Aristotle², was accustomed to make of it, "if ever the audience (at his ordinary lectures) showed symptoms of drowsiness to throw in a phrase or two of the fifty-drachm;" it is clear from the opening of the dialogue, p. 383, A, where the same expression is used and explained, as well as its general tenour, that the main subject of the lecture was etymology:

¹ καθάπερ Πρόδικος διηγεῖτο τὰς ἡδονὰς εἰς χαρὰν καὶ τέρψιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην.

² *Rhet.* III. 14, p. 140. 3.

and that he was one of those who endeavoured to make philology subservient to a philosophical system, by forcing the derivation of terms into conformity with the dogmas of his own creed; a method of which several examples have been given above. This was doubtless attractive enough, and well suited for giving a fillip to the flagging attention of an auditory.

One branch of knowledge with which Prodicus seems to have been especially conversant was the knowledge of the value of money: and being like the rest of the Sophists of a practical turn of mind (Grote, H. Gr. VIII. 489 seq.) he contrived to turn his information upon this subject to very good account. By his intercourse with Callias and others who could afford to pay well for virtue and universal information, Xen. Symp. I. 5. IV. 62, he made immense sums, τοῖς νέοις συνὼν χρήματα ἔλαβε θαυμαστὰ ὄσα, Hipp. Maj. 282, c; and as his system was to give nothing for nothing (Axioch. 367, c, προῖκα γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος οὐδένα διδάσκει), in support of which he used to quote the line of Epicharmus—

ἀ δὲ χεῖρ τὰν χεῖρα νίζει· εἰ δίδως τι καὶ λάβεις,

it is not surprising that he should have amassed a very large fortune. It is in allusion to this greediness, as Heindorf, apparently with justice, supposes, that Plato applies to him the name of Tantalus, from Hom. Odys. λ', 582, in introducing him to his readers, Protag. 315, c.

Like the rest of his brethren he gave instruction in Rhetoric, Phædr. 267, b, Cic. Brut. VIII. 30, and, according to the latter, followed the Protagorean profession of teaching how to make the weaker cause prevail over the stronger: and also in virtue—at least he professed to make his pupils better as well as wiser, Plat. Rep. x. 600, c¹; and it was with this object no doubt that he wrote the Ὀραὶ or Choice of Hercules.

Like them too he speculated on the nature of the gods, and his religious views called down upon him from ancient writers

¹ Meno, 96, D, where Socrates, who has just arrived at the conclusion that virtue is not teachable, laments the ill success which necessarily attended the efforts of Gorgias and Prodicus in training Meno and himself. And this is the passage which Welcker, Rhein. Mus. I. 10, thinks of the highest importance as illustrating the great esteem which So-

crates felt for the sophist! Another "highly important" passage is Hipp. Maj. 282, c, where Socrates actually calls Prodicus his friend, ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐταῖρος. Such is the kind of evidence which learned writers who have a purpose to serve sometimes condescend to bring forward in support of their theories.

grave suspicions of heterodoxy or even atheism. His opinions upon this subject are to be found in Sextus Empiricus, adv. Matth. pp. 311, 317 (in Welcker's Essay, and Gerlach, Hist. Stud. p. 58). He declared that "the ancients had invested with divine attributes the sun, the moon, fountains, rivers, meadows, fruits, and in general everything that ministered to the service of human life, by reason of the benefit derived from them." Cicero asks upon this, de N. D. i. 42, "What are we to say to Prodicus of Ceos? who declared that everything that was of service to human life had been reckoned in the number of the gods: what religion, I should like to know, has he left us?"

I have already observed¹ that the compliment paid to Prodicus by Aristophanes, Nub. 361, for his "wit and wisdom," and the distinction which is there made between him and his brother Sophists, are deprived of the chief part of their value as testimonies in his favour by the notices of him in two other plays—one of them at least written at a much later period—where he is treated like the rest of the *μετεωροσοφισταί*, and the *ἀδολίσχαι*²; and again as regards the testimony to his worth which Socrates is supposed to have given by sending young men to receive instruction from him, we learn from Theæt. 151, B, that he was accustomed to hand over to Prodicus "and other ingenious persons of supernatural accomplishments" only the refuse of his pupils—men who had no inclination or aptitude for real knowledge and sound philosophy, but looked to some other end in the teaching which they sought.

¹ Journal of Philology, No. 2, Vol. i. p. 164. Not to mention that the scholiast on the passage puts an ironical interpretation upon it: *μέμνηται δὲ τῶν τοῦ Προδικίου διασώρων, οἱτι μεγίστην δόξαν εἶχεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑπὲρ πάντας ὦν τῇ σοφίᾳ.*

² Ταγηνιστάλ Fr. vi.

τὸν ἀνδρα τόνδ' ἢ βίβλιον διέφθορεν ἢ Πρόδικος, ἢ τῶν ἀδολέσχων εἰς γέ τις.
Welcker remarks upon this, op. cit. p. 13, "that such general titles applied to philosophers by a comic poet have no more weight than" &c.: he seems to have overlooked the awkward word *διέφθορεν*, the

worst as well as most specific charge brought against these men. If the testimony of a comic poet is allowed to tell in favour of Prodicus, why should it not be admitted when it tells against him? To refuse such evidence altogether is intelligible, though, as I think, unfair; but it is most unreasonable to allow it in one case and reject it in another, unless some special reason can be shown for doing so. Moreover Welcker himself admits that in the Clouds Aristophanes had a motive for exalting Prodicus in order to depress Socrates by the comparison.

He adopted, according to an anonymous rhetorician cited by Spengel, pp. 173. 213, the current Sophistical definition of his art, the consequences of which, when the practice corresponds to the precept, have been described above, Vol. II. p. 162 sq. The words are these: οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν σοφιστικὴν καὶ ὀρίζονται οὕτως· λόγων ἰσχύς περὶ τοῦ δοκοῦντος πιθανοῦ· τούτου δὲ τὴν πρόφασιν Πρόδικον καὶ Ἱππίαν δεδωκέναι. Welcker in commenting upon this, op. cit. p. 556, observes that there is a great difference between the endeavour to prove your case by means of the apparently true (a plausible statement) or a convincing representation (das überzeugend dargestellte), and the elevation of the appearance above the reality, the making the great small and the small great, which was Gorgias' principle: and that we have no evidence to show that Prodicus was guilty of thus abusing the art he professed. But the definition represents probability or plausibility as the *aim* and *end* of the art, and to gain assent by any means as its only object. An artist does not square his practice to a definition, but the definition is derived from the practice: and in the absence of evidence, I cannot see that we have any right in such a case to assume a distinction between Prodicus and his fellows for his special benefit. If we accept the testimony of the anonymous author at all, we must accept it with its natural consequences, and suppose that in this respect the teaching and practice of Prodicus agreed with that of Gorgias and Protagoras, and Hippias and Thrasymachus. The same writer in noticing the passage above quoted from Cic. Brut. viii. proceeds in a similar manner. Cicero says, Tum Leontinus Gorgias, Thrasymachus Chalcedonius, Protagoras Abderites, Prodicus Ceus. Hippias Eleus in honore magno fuit, alique multi temporibus eisdem docere se profitebantur arrogantibus sane verbis, quemadmodum causa inferior, ita enim loquebantur, dicendo fieri superior posset. One would suppose that nothing could be plainer than these words: and that if the authority of Cicero is worth anything, all the rhetoricians mentioned by name, as well as a number of others not specified, professed by rhetoric to be able to make the weaker cause prevail over the stronger. The words if literally taken might no doubt convey the impression that only Hippias, together with the anonymous many, made this profession: but this cannot possibly be the author's meaning, as we know that this was especially τὸ Πρωταγόρου

ἀνάγκη; and the genuine distinction of Sophists and separate Prodicus from him and Hippocrates. However Vossius... maintains that it can only mean "literally" or "historically" though it is also substantially true of Isocrates and Theophrastus: for according to the testimony of Plato himself it was treated with contempt by Prodicus: and it is true that he makes Prodicus 267, A (translated above 1. 57), with the remark that "although the distinction between Prodicus and Theaetetus and Isocrates properly refers only to the fact that the former taught as a specialist, yet still the contrast is to be regarded as general, the latter as there is a certain connection between the type language and reality as opposed to ideality." 1. 57, B. I desire to see that conclusions more entirely at variance with the text in which they are supposed to be grounded never were drawn from an ancient author: I cannot see the shadow of a justification for the exception in the one case or the silence in the other: nor can I believe that, so long as we see the evidence of ancient authors at all, we are at liberty to take as much of their statements as happens to suit our own views and reject the rest. Brandis, who in his article on Prodicus in *Meinke's Diet. of Ling.* implicitly follows Welcker, does not undertake to give any reason whatever for this misinterpretation of *Caes.* He merely says that "it is only as associated with other hypotheses that he is charged with endeavouring to make the weaker cause strong by means of his *Rhetoric*." One might argue with much more plausibility on the same grounds, that it is only as contrasted with Socrates that *Antiphanes* paid Prodicus the famous compliment in the *Clouds* on his wit and wisdom: or that it is only as associated with Welcker that Brandis found it convenient to make the assertion quoted above in order to aid in whitewashing the Sophist whom he undertakes to defend.

One specimen of Prodicus' method of reasoning I cannot forbear quoting, as it seems to me to illustrate the character of the man's mind, and to be so entirely in accordance with the mode of arguing current amongst the Sophists, that it is quite sufficient to show that he was a kindred spirit, and to justify us in classing him with the rest. It is quoted in the *Axiochus*, 369, A. He argues, that death is not to be feared because it nowhere exists: "for it affects neither the living, nor the departed: because it does not exist among the living, and the

dead themselves are not," and so of course cannot be sensible of it; and therefore it may be altogether disregarded. No better example of the logical figure *petitio principii* is, I think, to be found amongst recorded fallacies: "Whether the appended arguments for immortality are borrowed from him, as Welcker endeavours to show, is doubtful." Brandis. I should have supposed that his own words, *οἱ δὲ ἀποθανόντες οὐκ εἰσὶν* leave very little doubt about the matter. The whole of the preceding lecture reported by Socrates, Axiochus, 366, D, sq., is a genuine specimen of a Sophistical *ἐπίδειξις*, of the kind which Cicero calls a "*vituperatio*," a declamation upon the worthlessness of life, and the pain and misery to which all ages and all earthly pursuits are exposed. If he really held the opinion that life was utterly worthless, and death annihilation, one only wonders that he could have found the heart to go on lecturing and money-making; but the pains which he took to make himself comfortable in this world seem to throw a doubt upon the sincerity at least of the former opinion.

I hope I shall not be thought to have been actuated by any feeling of personal hostility to Prodicus, because I have endeavoured to make it appear that he was not so much better than the rest of his Sophistical brethren as it has been of late the fashion to assume. I am by no means anxious to detract from his credit, or unduly disparage his abilities or his moral character;

neque ego illi detrahere ausim
hærentem capiti multa cum laude coronam;

and I have been careful to quote authorities for all the statements I have ventured to make to his disadvantage. It seemed to me that rather too much had been made of one or two passages in which he was supposed to be advantageously contrasted with the other Sophists: that the testimony of Aristophanes in his favour, disallowed when it tells *against* the Sophists, had been too much insisted upon; and the unfavourable portrait drawn of him by Plato somewhat rashly ascribed to his satirical turn and alleged hostility to the Sophists in general.

Of Hippias of Elis, the next Sophistical Rhetorician of the Greek school, we need not say much. He had neither the originality nor the influence of Protagoras; nor has he like Prodicus found as yet any learned German to take up his cause and

distinguish him from the rest of the Sophists: and moreover we have already said as much about his character and teaching, Vol. I. p. 175, as suffices for our purpose. In rhetoric, with which we are here principally concerned, he accepted the definition and followed the practice of Tisias and Gorgias, see the passage of the anonymous rhetorician, above referred to, p. 60; and I think it may be gathered from an answer of Hippias¹, Hipp. Maj. 295, A, that his notion of the advantages to be derived from the cultivation of rhetoric must have corresponded pretty nearly with that of Gorgias and Polus and Thrasymachus, see above, Vol. II. p. 139. The virtue which he taught is defined by himself, Hipp. Maj. 282, to be, the faculty of managing public affairs in conjunction with one's own, τὰ δημόσια πράττειν δύνασθαι μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, that is, the sciences of œconomics, ethics, and politics; which was in fact often alleged as the object of the teaching of the entire sophistic-rhetorical school². By his lectures and instructions in these branches of science, as well as the less practical subjects of grammar, prosody, mnemonics, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, painting, sculpture, poetical criticism, "the nature of things, and the manners of men" (Cic. de Orat. III. 32)—and possibly also in the manufacture of rings, cloaks and shoes, flesh-brushes and oil-flasks, epic poems, tragedies, and dithyrambs, Hipp. Min. 368, B, C—for nothing was either above or beneath the comprehensive genius of Hippias, he

¹ Σωκρ. Δύναμις μὲν ἄρα καλὸν, ἀδυναμία δὲ αἰσχρόν; Ἰππ. Σφόδρα γε. τὰ τε οὖν ἄλλα, ὧ Σώκρατες, μαρτυρεῖ ἡμῖν ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει. ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ τὰ πολιτικά. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς τε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ πόλει τὸ μὲν δυνατόν εἶναι πάντων κάλλιστον, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνατον πάντων αἰσχιστόν. The Sophists, it must be remembered, considered themselves to belong to the πολιτικοί, because they trained men for public life, and therefore studied the science of government. Prodicus, who is quoted Euthyd. 305, C, used to say that they stood on the boundary line between the philosopher and the politician.

² See the same anonymous author in Speng. Art. Ser. p. 213. οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρετὴν αὐτὴν λέγοντες, οἱ μὲν

πολιτικὴν οἱ δὲ ὑποπολιτικὴν ἐκάλεσαν. καὶ πολιτικῆς μὲν ὁρος οὗτος· ἐπιστήμη τοῦ εἰς πράττειν τὰ τε ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινά. διὰ τοῦ μὲν εἰπεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τὸ πολιτικὸν δηλοῦντες, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἴδια τὸ ἠθικὸν καὶ οἰκονομικόν. Compare the professions of Protagoras, from Protag. 318, E, in Grote, Hist. Gr. VIII. 521, with the note, and of Gorgias, Men. 71, D, E, quoted above, Vol. I. p. 172. This explains an allusion in Arist. Ran. 971, where Euripides, the sophist of tragedy, boasts that he has sharpened the wits of Clitophon and Theramenes to such an extent

ὥστ' ἤδη νοεῖν
ἅπαντα καὶ διευδέναι
τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
οἰκεῖν ἀμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.

made as he boasts, Hipp. Maj. 282, ε, more money than any two of the other Sophists put together: from one town in Sicily, "and that quite a small place," Inycus, he netted more than twenty minas; and from his tour in Sicily, though Protagoras was there at the time, and an older man and at the height of his reputation¹, he cleared in a short time more than a hundred and fifty minas, which he carried home to his father, to the amazement of the old gentleman and the rest of the good citizens of Elis.

In Hipp. Maj. 282, α, there is a manifest imitation of Hippias' style of oratory put into his own mouth. It is distinguished by all the graces of the new style, antithesis, parisisis, and homœoteleuton. It looks like a quotation from one of his "archæological" declamations², for he drops this high-flown rhetoric immediately, and descends to the language of common life, in which he continues to converse through the rest of the dialogue. This seems all the more probable from the similar treatment applied to Polus in the Gorgias, 449, c.

We learn further from Hipp. Maj. 285, c, and Hipp. Min. 368, d, that he also made excursions into the domain of grammar, orthography, and versification; that he wrote, or talked, *περὶ γραμμάτων δυνάμεως καὶ συλλαβῶν καὶ ἁρμονῶν καὶ ῥυθμῶν*—the two latter, including of course the art of balancing clauses, and in general the composition of the rhythmical prose, which the Sophists were now bringing into fashion. Like the rest of the Sophists he was fond of exercising his critical powers upon Homer and the other Greek poets. A specimen of his powers is given by Aristotle, Poet. 25, p. 183. 16, if as Osann with great probability supposes, we should read ΗΑΕΙΟC for ΘΑΕΙΟC; "Hippias the Thasian" being a personage who is only to be met with

¹ There seems to have been a sort of rivalry between Protagoras and Hippias which peeps out here, and also in Protag. 318, ε, where the former glances at Hippias, when he charges "the rest," of the Sophists to wit, with corrupting the youth of Greece.

² Osann in an article in the Rhein. Mus. for 1843, p. 495 seq., der sophist Hippias als Archäolog, has collected a number of notices of Hippias' *ἐπιδείξεις*,

amongst which, however, he has not referred to the passage in the text. The general result of his researches is, that we know extremely little about them: the only one of which we can do more than guess at the subject is the *ῥυθμικός*, from which Mr Grote, Hist. of Greece, VIII. 526, draws so favourable an inference as to the character of Hippias' instructions in morality. See above, No. 2, Vol. I. p. 176.

in this place of Aristotle¹. By the alteration of an accent in the one case, and of *oi* into *ol* in the other, Hippias gives an entirely new and more suitable sense to two passages of Homer. Rhein. Mus. for 1843, p. 510. The exposure of the emptiness of his critical pretensions forms the subject of the Platonic dialogue, Hippias Minor.

On Hippias' contribution to the science of history, the catalogue of Olympic victors, see Mure, Hist of Gk. Lit. Vol. iv. p. 82.

At the head of the Sicilian school of rhetoric stands Gorgias, one of the most prominent figures in the literary history of the period, second to Protagoras only amongst the Sophists in real influence, and perhaps the most popular and the most celebrated of them all. He seems to have abandoned at an early period the philosophical speculations to which he had addicted himself in his youth, and to have devoted himself exclusively to the cultivation of rhetoric; he renounced half of the ordinary sophistical profession, and contented himself with the title of *ῥήτορ*, teaching only so much virtue as was included in the art of writing speeches judicial and declamatory. Gorg. 449, A, Men. 95, c, Phileb. 58, A.

But his fame was chiefly derived from the novel style of composition which he introduced; and this deserves attention not only on account of the celebrity it enjoyed on its first introduction and for some time subsequently, but also from the direct influence it exercised upon several of the most important authors of the day, amongst whom may be mentioned Thucydides, Agathon, Antiphon, and Isocrates. Diodorus, in a passage, XII. 53, quoted by Spengel and already referred to, where he is speaking of the mission on which he was sent by his countrymen the Leontines to Athens², describes him in these terms: "At the head of the envoys was Gorgias the Rhetorician, a man who far surpassed all his contemporaries in oratorical skill: he also was the first inventor of an art of rhetoric [this is a mistake]....He amazed the Athenians, quick witted and fond of

¹ So Osann; the name however *Ἱππίας ὁ Θάσιος* occurs in Lysias, Orat. xxx. § 56.

² See also Thucyd. III. 68. Singularly enough Thucydides does not name Gorgias, though his eminence, reputa-

tion, and the public capacity in which he was acting, might seem to have called for express mention of him: however no inference as to the fact can reasonably be drawn from the historian's silence.

oratory as they were, ὄντας εὐφραίς καὶ φιλολόγους, i. e. who were capable of understanding and predisposed to admire him, by the strangeness (or foreign fashion, τῇ ξενίζοντι) of his language, by his extraordinary ἀντίθετα, and ἰσόκωλα, and πάρισα, and ὁμοουτέλευτα, and other figures of the same kind, which at that time from the novelty of their style were deemed worthy of adoption, but are now looked upon as affected and ridiculous when used in such nauseous superabundance."

A second peculiarity of Gorgias' oratory, intimately connected with that just described, was the poetical colour which he gave it by the employment of metaphors, compound words, &c. such as no prose writer had hitherto ventured upon, so that Dionysius says it even approached to dithyramb. Supr. Vol. II. p. 161.

Another artifice resorted to by Gorgias for the purpose of giving a novel and striking character to his speeches was the use of rare and foreign words. Two of the latter kind are put into his mouth by Plato, Gorg. 450, B, on which the Scholiast has the following remark: χειρουργημα καὶ κύρωσις οὐκ εἴρηται, αἱ δὲ λέξεις Γοργίου ἐγχώριοι· Λεοντίνοσ γὰρ ἦν. Compare 450, E, where Socrates in repeating his words says κύρος.

Both these novelties were introduced with the same object, which is noticed by Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. c. xxxi. § 5.¹ At the time when Gorgias began to cultivate the art of composition nearly all the existing literature was in verse—the few exceptions, for Herodotus' history was not yet published to the world, consisting chiefly of dry and bald chronicles, and philosophical

¹ Mure, Hist. of Gk. Lit. IV. p. 121, takes a different view. "When composition becomes an art, the new-born zeal of its early professors leads them, in theorising on its principles, to prefer exaggerated or affected forms in their efforts to reduce those principles to practice." But neither he nor Müller takes any notice of a passage of Aristotle, Rhet. III. I. p. 114, 2, which gives a somewhat different reason for Gorgias' adoption of a poetical style, though it agrees well enough in the main with Müller's view. He says that the first prose writers, as Gorgias for

example, observing the success of the poets in passing off nonsense under cover of fine language and harmonious diction, used the same artifice to gain the attention of their hearers and readers; which seems to imply that in Aristotle's opinion the sense of Gorgias' fine periods did not altogether correspond to the sound. A similar account is given by Cicero, Orat. c. LII. § 174, of Isocrates and his periods: "cum enim videret oratores cum severitate audiri poetas autem cum voluptate, tum dicitur numeros secutus quibus etiam in oratione uteretur."

treatises, which depended for their interest entirely upon the subjects discussed, and paid little attention to the vehicle by which their thoughts were conveyed. It was to supply in some degree the want of the regularly recurring cadences of verse, and to compensate the ear for the loss of the melody to which it had become accustomed, and, as Aristotle adds, to disguise the poverty of their ideas, that Gorgias and his followers adopted the curiously balanced rhythmical and ornate style which was for a time so popular, and indeed is thought to have exerted a lasting influence upon Greek prose composition. As the reputed founder of the periodic style¹—the *περιοδικὴ λέξις*, opposed to the *εἰρομένη* or *διηρημένη λέξις* of the preceding Ionic school²—Gorgias is entitled to our especial attention; and it will therefore be proper to give here some account of the peculiarities introduced by him; which we are fortunately able to illustrate by an extant specimen of his writings.

The two orations which pass under his name, the *Apologia Palamedis* and *Encomium Helenes*, are now regarded as imitations of his manner by some later Sophist: but a genuine fragment of a funeral oration has been preserved by one of the Scholiasts on Hermogenes, from one of the lost works of Dionysius, and is quoted by Spengel, *Art. Scr.* p. 78. It is also to be found in *Clint. Fast. Hell.* II. 378, not. As any description must fail to give a complete idea of its elaborately artificial character, I will transcribe so much of it as seems necessary to exemplify the use made by Gorgias of the rhetorical figures he had invented.

Τί γὰρ ἀπὴν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ὦν δεῖ ἀνδράσι προσεῖναι; τί δὲ καὶ προσῆν ὦν οὐ δεῖ προσεῖναι; εἰπεῖν δυναίμην ἃ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δὲ ἃ δεῖ, λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θείαν νέμεσιν, φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον· οὔτοι γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο ἔνθεον μὲν ἀρετὴν, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ θνητὸν, πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ παρὴν ἐπιεικὲς τοῦ αὐθάδους δικαίου προκρίνοντες, πολλὰ δὲ νόμον ἀκριβείας λόγων ὀρθότητος . . .

Μαρτυρίας δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολεμίων, διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα, τούτων δὲ ἀναθήματα, οὐκ ἄπειροι οὔτε ἐμφύτου Ἄρεος, οὔτε νομίμων ἐρέτων, οὔτε ἐνοπλίου ἔριδος, οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης, σεμνοὶ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκίας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν

¹ Mure, *H. G. L.* IV. 125, and the authors referred to in the note.

² *Arist. Rhet.* III. 9.

ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτος ἐν οὐκ ἀσωμάτοις σώμασι
 ζῆ οὐ ζώντων.

Upon this passage either Dionysius or the rhetorician who quotes him passes the following criticism: "Here Gorgias has heaped together a number of pompous phrases to convey somewhat superficial ideas [compare Aristotle Rhet. III. 1. cited above], whilst he embellishes his speech all through with *πάρισα* and *ὁμοιστέλευτα* and *ὁμοιοκάταρκα* to a nauseous excess."

Had we not this specimen of the new sophistical style of rhetoric remaining to testify to the fidelity of Plato's representation, the imitation of Agathon, a disciple of the school, Sympos. 197, c—e, would have been undoubtedly set down as a malicious exaggeration: and I think that we may fairly draw an inference from this instance, where we have the opportunity of comparing the copy with the original, as to the faithfulness of Plato's delineation of the literary and moral characteristics of the Sophists in other cases—as for example, the speech of Prodicus in the Protagoras—where we have not the same means of testing his candour. The subsequent observation of Socrates, p. 198, c, that Agathon's speech reminded him strongly of Gorgias, and the pleasant allusion to Homer, in which he expresses his alarm lest he should have been petrified and struck dumb by this marvellous speaking Gorgias' (i.e. Gorgon's) head, which Agathon had just exhibited, leave no doubt as to the particular Sophist whose oratory is here copied. Philostratus, moreover, Vit. Soph., says of Agathon, *πολλαχού τῶν λαμβείων γοργιάζειν*.

Besides these undoubted examples of Gorgias' rhetoric, Spengel, p. 66, note, points out a passage of Isocrates, Panegy. § 42, which he supposes, with great probability, to be transcribed from his master's *ἐπιτάφιος*: a conjecture which seems to be confirmed by the statement of a Greek writer, Pseud. Plut. p. 239, that Isocrates borrowed his Panegyric speech from Gorgias the Leontine and Lysias. It runs thus: *εὗροι δ' ἄν τις ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς βαρβάρους ὕμνους πεποιημένους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας θρήνους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀδομένους, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμῶς μεμνημένους*. If these are not actually the words of Gorgias, they are at any rate a close imitation of his manner. The same sentiment expressed in nearly the same words is quoted by Philostratus, Vit. Gorg., from Gorgias' *Ἐπιτάφιος*.

I now leave it to my readers to decide whether the above quoted sample of perverted ingenuity warrants the opinion expressed by Col. Mure, iv. 97, as well as others, that Gorgias "was with all his faults, unquestionably one of the greatest and most successful teachers of prose composition," and to judge to what extent the simple natural conversational prose of Plato at least—of Demosthenes and the more artificial writers I say nothing—is indebted for any of its excellencies to a master whose art of composition seems to have been the stringing together of as many nicely balanced antithetical clauses as the patience of his hearers could endure; a paradox which Mure and Müller, not altogether unsupported by the authority of Greek writers, agree in maintaining.

The technical names descriptive of the peculiarities of Gorgias' rhetoric¹, which we find in various writers, are *ἀντίθεσις* or *ἀντίθετα*, *πάρισα*, *ισόκωλα*, *ἴσα λέγειν*, *παρομοιώσις*, *παρήχησις*, *ὁμοιοπύλευτα*, *ὁμοιοκάταρκτη*, and *παρονομασία*: a set of terms which I will now endeavour to arrange in some order, since they have hitherto, so far as I know, remained uncollected and unclassified.

They may be divided into three classes, which have severally for their object parallelism in sense, structure, and sound; though, as we shall see, they occasionally run into one another, so that it is not always easy to distinguish them.

To the first class belongs only *ἀντίθεσις*, a figure which is thus defined by Ernesti; *figura qua in singulis verbis, vel sententiis, contraria jungimus et sibi e regione ponimus*: and by Anaximenes in the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, c. 27, *ἀντίθετον μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐναντίαν τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ἔχον, ἢ τὸ ἕτερον τούτων*; that is, an antithesis is a figure where there is an opposition either of words or sense, or both, in two corresponding clauses of a sentence, of which he gives the following instances. Opposition of words alone: *διδότω γὰρ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ εὐδαίμων τῷ πένητι καὶ ἐνδεῖ*: of sense alone, *ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτον νοσοῦντα ἐθεράπευσα, οὗτος δ' ἐμὸι μεγίστων κακῶν αἴτιος γίγνομαι*: and of both words and sense, *οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τοῦτον μὲν τὰ ἐμὰ ἔχοντα πλουτεῖν, ἐμὰ δὲ τὰ ὄντα προΐεμενον οὕτω πτωχεύειν*.

¹ Comp. Cic. Orat. c. LII. § 175. Nam ut paulo ante dixi paria paribus adjuncta (*πάρισα*) et similiter definita (*παρήχησις*) itemque contrariis relata

contraria (*ἀντίθεσις*), quæ sua sponte etiamsi id non agas cadunt plerumque numerose, Gorgias primus invenit; sed his usus est intemperantius.

One of the completest examples of antithesis on record is that well-known one of Thucydides, iv. 61. οἱ τ' ἐπικλητοὶ εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἡλθόντες εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι ἀπίασαν. The following couplet of Agathon is an ingenious specimen :

εἰ μὲν φράσω τὰληθές οὐχί σ' εὐφρανῶ,
εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ' οὐχί τὰληθές φράσω.

and this again from Antiphon, de Cæde Herod. § 73, τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον ἐμὲ δικαίως σώζειν ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον ἀδίκως ἐμὲ ἀπολλύσαι. The opposition of mere words without corresponding sense, in which the perpetual striving after antithesis by the Sicilians and their imitators not unfrequently ended, is ridiculed by Epicharmus, in the verse quoted by Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 9. ult. with the introduction, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς ἀντιθέσεις, οἷον καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐποιεῖ,

τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνους ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνους ἐγὼν,

on which Demetrius observes, de Elocut. c. 24, ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ἴσως γέλωτα ποιῶν οὕτως ἀντέθηκεν, καὶ ἅμα σκώπτων τοὺς ῥήτορας.

I have already remarked that Thucydides carries this love of antithesis to a very vicious excess. I will quote a single instance where it has led him astray. In Pericles' funeral oration, ii. 44, we have the expression καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυμετρήθη. Here the desire of finding a word parallel in form to ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι has led him to choose one of similar composition in the corresponding member, ἐντελευτῆσαι. But a verb of this form, on which see Elms. Bacch. 508, requires us to supply ἐν αὐτῷ from the substantive, that is in this case ἐν τῷ βίῳ, to complete the sense; and ἐντελευτῆσαι ἐν τῷ βίῳ is something bordering on nonsense, or at any rate improperly opposed to ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι. The meaning is clear enough, and Arnold gives it very well, but without attempting to preserve the antithesis, "and with those to whom their life was allotted to be happy in till the period of their death." This figure is called by Arist. Rhet. iii. 9, p. 127. 9, ἡ ἐν κώλοισι ἀντικειμένη λέξις, and he gives several examples of it.

Of parallelism in structure the general designation is πάρισμα, otherwise παρίσωσις, Arist. Rhet. iii. 9, or ἴσα λέγειν; the latter term is used by Plato, Sympos. 185, c, where it is applied to the phrase Πανσανίου δὲ πανσαμένον, which Aristodemus, the reporter of the dialogue, says he has learnt from the "men of art," meaning

the Sophists. This might be reckoned as an instance of *ἐπιτελευτον*, or *παρονομασία*, as also another example in Gorg. 467. a, ὃ λῶσθε Πῶλε, ἵνα σε προσέγω κατὰ σέ, "to address you after your own fashion," Polus being a disciple and imitator of Gorgias. *Παρίσωσις* is defined by Aristotle, l. c. εἴη ἴσα τὰ κῶλα; *enunciatio in quâ membra paria sunt et æqualia*, Ernesti. It implies a general correspondence or equality in the forms of two sentences, and includes *ἰσοκύα*, which are sentences in which the two members are of the same length. Anaximenes, op. cit. c. 28, thus defines and illustrates it: *Παρίσωσις δ' ἐστὶ μὲν ὅταν δύο ἴσα λέγῃται κῶλα, εἷη δ' ἂν ἴσα καὶ πολλὰ μικρὰ ἀλίγοις μεγάλαις καὶ ἴσα τὸ μέγεθος ἴσως τὸν ἀριθμὸν. ἔχει δὲ τοῖαυδε τὸ σχῆμα ἡ παρίσωσις "ἡ διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν ἢ διὰ πολέμου μέγεθος."* ταῦτα γὰρ ὅτε ἴσως ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείονι, ἀλλ' ἴσα μόνον ἀλλήλοις. The figure *παρίσων* in its strictest form, where the clauses are so completely balanced that each word in the one member is answered by a corresponding one in the other, is illustrated by Dionysius (ap. Spengel, p. 90), from Plato's *Menæxenus*, 236, E, δεῖ δὲ τοιοῦτον τινὸς λόγου, ὅστις τοῖς μὲν τετελευτηκότας ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσεται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς παρανέσεται. Οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ ῥήματι ἐπὶ ῥήματι παρακέεται καὶ ῥῆμα ῥήματι, τὸ μὲν ἱκανῶς τῷ εὐμενῶς, τῷ δ' ἐπαινέσει (as Dionysius read, unless he quoted from memory) τὸ παρανέσει. This passage might equally well be adduced as an example of *ἀντίθεσις* or *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*: and the sentence of Thucydides quoted above as a specimen of *ἀντίθεσις* is also an excellent instance of *παρίσων*. But as Aristotle remarks l. c. ἐστὶ δὲ ἅμα πάντα ἔχειν ταῦτό, καὶ ἀντίθεσιν εἶναι ταῦτό καὶ παρίσων καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

Parallelism in sound is expressed by the general term *παρήχησις* or *παρομοίωσις*, which includes the three varieties of *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, *ὁμοιοκάταρκτον*, and *παρονομασία*, of which the first is by far the most commonly employed, and therefore, as I suppose, the only one taken notice of by Aristotle in his definition of *παρομοίωσις*, *Rhet.* l. c. εἴαν ὁμοία τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχῃ ἑκάτερον τὸ κῶλον: whereas Ernesti explains it more fully, *enunciatio in qua extremæ partis utriusque membri vel in initio vel in fine similes sunt*: and Anaximenes, op. cit. c. 29, extends it to all parts of the sentence. *παρομοίωσις δ' ἐστὶν ἡ μείζων τῆς παρισώσεως. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἴσα τὰ κῶλα ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅμοια ἐξ ὁμοίων ὀνομάτων.* "ὅσον δεῖ σε λόγου μίμημα φέρε πόθον τέχνασμα." μάλιστα δὲ ποιεῖ ὁμοία τὰ τελευταῖα τῶν ὀνομάτων ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν. Hermogenes calls this figure

παρίσωσις. Examples of both *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* and *ὁμοιοκάταρκτον* are given by Aristotle, from which it would appear, that the former denotes a similar sound at the end of the two clauses of a sentence, the latter at the beginning. ἀργὸν γὰρ ἔλαβεν ἀργὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ. δωρητοὶ τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοι τ' ἐπέεσσιν. φήθησαν αὐτὸν παῖδιον τετοκέναι ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ αἴτιον γεγονέναι. ἐν πλείστοις δὲ φροντίσι καὶ ἐν ἐλαχίστοις ἐλπίσιν. The same effect may be produced by a variation of the *πτῶσις*, [any inflexion of a noun or verb, Arist. Poet. c. 20, or change of termination where the body of the word remains the same, including adverbs, is a *πτῶσις*.] ἄξιός δὲ σταθῆναι χαλκοῦς οὐκ ἄξιός ὦν χαλκοῦ; or by a repetition of the same word, σὺ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ζῶντα ἔλεγες κακῶς καὶ νῦν γράφεις κακῶς; or of the same syllable, τί ἂν ἔπαθες δεινὸν εἰ ἄνδρ' εἶδες ἀργόν; (from Aristotle). Hermogenes understands by these figures similarity in the beginnings and ends of words, not of sentences; quoting as examples *προσθήκει προθύμως* from Demosthenes or Xenophon, and *Πανσανίου δὲ παυσαμένου* from Plato; similar instances are *Φιλίππῳ φίλον*, and *Φίλιππον φιλεῖν τὴν πόλιν* in Demosthenes. Victorius on Aristotle, l. c. quotes as an example of all the three figures in one sentence a phrase of Gorgias preserved by Plutarch, *κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῆτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο*, which is an instance of false antithesis into the bargain. Meineke, Fr. Comm. Gr. III. 618, has collected a number of *παρηγήσεις* from various authors, but they are all of the species *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, and in all the similar sound is at the end of single words, not clauses¹.

Παρανομασία, the third variety of *παρήχσις*, is a figure by which we bring together, or oppose to each other, in a sentence, words which have some similarity of sound or form, but are dissimilar in sense (Ernesti), and differs not much from the modern pun. The following from Antiphon, de Cæde Herod. § 91, is an example, *ἀδίκως ἀπολύσαι δσιώτερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ μὴ δικαίως ἀπολέσαι*. Another is Thuc. VI. 76, *καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ Λεοντίνους βούλεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἐξοικίσαι*, quoted by Dion. de Thuc. Jud. c. 48. And this from one of Bp Andrewes' Sermons is quite in the "Sicilian" manner: "If it be so expedient He come, Christ I trust is not impiedient but He may come²."

¹ The use of this figure *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* seems to be, if not the origin of *rhyme*, at least one of the earliest appearances

of it in literature.

² Specimens of all these 'puerile' figures, *ἀντίθεσις*, *παρόμοια*, *παρίσωσις*,

We now pass on to the other kindred vice of Gorgias' style, the accumulation of poetical words and phrases with which he beautified (*εκαλλώπειν*) his discourses, and heightened the poetical colour which was already thrown over them by their rhythmical structure. His measured cadences and artfully balanced clauses bear a close resemblance to the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry, or to the more exalted specimens of Arabian eloquence, to which I have already compared them. Indeed if we substitute the most trivial commonplaces for the sublime imagery of the inspired writers, we may obtain a not inadequate notion of Gorgias' manner from the more formal and artificial passages of the Psalms or Isaiah.

We have already referred to the judgment pronounced by later critics upon the style which Gorgias sought to introduce; we have seen that Dionysius stigmatized it as childish pompous and inflated to excess, a vulgar display, and approaching to the extravagances of dithyrambic poetry: that in Diodorus' time (i. e. the half century before the Christian era) it was looked upon as affected and ridiculous: that even Cicero, so lenient in his animadversions upon the Greek masters of oratory, declared that he was too intemperate in the use of the figures which he had invented; and again, that he was over fond of such like ornaments, and abused them by immoderate profusion: and, finally, that Aristotle indirectly expresses the opinion (*Rhet.* iii. 1. p. 114. 4) that such poetical prose could please none but the ignorant vulgar.

We will now proceed to collect some particular notices and examples of these defects from ancient authors. The fragment of the funeral oration of which a portion has been quoted, has not even the interest which striking expressions or metaphors, however exaggerated, might convey: it is a mere string of the most ordinary commonplaces forced into unnatural combinations,

&c. "in which Gorgias and his school most abounded," from Thucydides, are to be found in Dionys. Ep. ii. ad Amm. c. 17, de Thuc. Jud. cc. 24. 29. 39. 46. 48, and elsewhere. In the first of these passages he observes with great justice that they are eminently unsuitable to the character of composition, viz. the *αυστηρά λέξις*, the rough, harsh, stern

style, which Thucydides affects. Out of the many instances cited I will only quote two: *φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη*, Thuc. i. 2; and an example of false antithesis conveyed in a clumsy and intricate sentence, *ἐνθύμημα πονηρὸν καὶ σκολιῶς ἀππηγεγμένον*, Dion. op. cit. c. 39, from the Melian dialogue, v. 95.

so that if it is not poetry, the author has at any rate succeeded in making it as unlike good prose as possible. We must therefore look elsewhere for the exemplifications of which we are in quest.

In the third chapter of the Rhetoric, Book III. Aristotle distinguishes four kinds of *ψυχρά* "frigidities" in prose composition, the misuse of compound words, of *γλῶτται* (explained above, Vol. II. p. 141), of epithets, and metaphors: the fault in each case consisting in the introduction into prose of words and figures which are adapted only to poetry; *διπλᾶ ὀνόματα* being most suitable to dithyrambic, *γλῶτται* to epic, and metaphors to iambic poems. Compare Poetics, c. 22.¹ These four kinds are illustrated from the speeches of Lycophron (already quoted), of Gorgias, and especially of Alcidas, a follower of Gorgias and exaggerator of his peculiarities. As examples of *διπλᾶ ὀνόματα* he gives the phrases *πτωχόμουσος κόλαξ*², "a beggar-witted flatterer," and *ἐπιорκήσαντας καὶ κατευορκήσαντας*³, which he quotes without the context, as if they were notorious cases and already well known to students of rhetoric. The two next kinds of *ψυχρά* he illustrates almost exclusively from Alcidas, but in exemplifying the misuse of metaphor he returns to Gorgias' writings. Instances of pompous (*σεμνόν*) and farfetched (*πρόρρωθεν*) metaphors, only fit for tragedy, are, *χλωρὰ καὶ ἔναιμα τὰ πράγματα*⁴, and *αἰσχρῶς μὲν ἔσπειρας κακῶς δὲ ἐθέρισας*, "thou hast sown with shame and reaped with sorrow"⁵. To this he adds Gorgias'

¹ The same subject is treated by Cicero de Orat. III. 37—48. *Διπλᾶ ὀνόματα* are called *verba novata*, *γλῶτται* *inuitata*, and *μεταφοραὶ* *translata*, § 152.

² Schol. ὁ πένης κατὰ τὸ λέγειν καὶ κολακεύειν.

³ Schol. τὸ ἐπιорκῆσαι λέγεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ψευδῶς ὁμῶσαντος, οὐχ ἀρμόζει τὸν ἀπλῶς ψευδόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐπιорκήσαντα· καὶ τὸ κατευορκῆσαι λέγεται ἐπὶ ἀληθῶς ὁμῶσαντος· οὐχ ἀρμόζει δὲ ἡ λέξις αὕτη ῥηθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς εἰπόντος τὸ ἀληθές, οἷον ὅτι ὑπὲρ γῆν ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα ἐστίν.

⁴ As we do not know what the *πράγματα* are to which Gorgias applied these two epithets, it is not easy to determine

the precise force of the expression. *Χλωρὰ* denotes fresh, green, and vigorous, as a tree with the sap in it; and *ἐναιμα* is a corresponding metaphor from a body in which the life-blood still circulates. The entire phrase seems to signify a state, or constitution, still vigorous and flourishing, untouched by decay. Scholiasts and commentators desert us, as their manner is, like a London policeman, when we most want their aid.

⁵ The allegation of this phrase as an example of pompous or farfetched metaphor, indicates a considerable difference of taste between Aristotle, at any rate, and ourselves. The severest modern critic would, I think, see nothing objec-

address to the swallow, when *καὶ αἰετὶ περὶ τὴν ἀφ᾽ οὐραίου τὸ περὶ τοῦ αἰετός*—or as Plutarch in telling the same story expresses it, *ἀφ᾽ οὐραίου αἰετὸν ἀπόπατον*—which he says is of a “first-rate tragic character.” “For shame, Philomel,” *αἰσχρὸν γε ὃ φίλοφθαλμα*, exclaimed he. “For it was no shame for a bird to do it, but in a virgin it was indecorous. He did well therefore in abusing her to call her what she *was* rather than what she *is*.” Two other instances of what were considered faults of taste in the use of metaphor by the Greek critics, are supplied by Longinus (ap. Spengel, p. 79). Gorgias, according to him, was ridiculed for calling Xerxes, *ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς*, and describing vultures as *ἐμφεχὰ τόφα*, neither of which probably would be thought a very heinous offence in a modern rhetorician.

This vice of Gorgias’ style soon became proverbial, and long compound words and forced metaphors passed under the names of *Γοργμῖα ῥήματα*. Xenophon, writing most likely before the Sophist’s death, makes use of the phrase, *Sympos. II. 26, ἔν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κολιξεῖν ἐπιφεικέωσιν, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν Γοργμῖαις ῥήμασιν εἶπω*—compare *Dion. Hal. Epist. ad Cn. Pomp. c. 2*; and *Synesius* (ap. *Ern. Lex. Techn. Gr. v. Γοργμῖαι*) employs *Γοργμῖαι* as synonymous with *ψυχρόν*.

Gorgias used to boast that he was never at a loss for topics on which to exercise his talents for fine speaking: his art of providing materials is explained by Aristotle, *Rhet. III. 17, p. 146. 17*, “for if he has to speak of Achilles, he eulogizes Peleus, then Æacus, then the god (founder of the family), and in like manner valour, or¹ he does so and so” [i. e. invents such and such topics]. It appears that Isocrates, the worthy disciple of Gorgias, had recourse to the same practice for enlarging the range of his subjects. *Arist. I. c.*

One of the rhetorical precepts of Gorgias recorded by

tionable in the employment of such a metaphor in any prose of a more elevated and ambitious character than a treatise on the differential calculus or an act of Parliament. Another instance of a similar character, with which use has made us perfectly familiar, is quoted with censure from Alcidas, who called the *Odyssey*, *καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον*, “a mirror of human life.”

¹ The received reading with no va-

riation of MSS. is *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἢ τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιῇ*. But the sentence hangs so ill together, and the *ἢ* has so little meaning, that I think we ought to change it into the relative pronoun *ἣ*: and then the sentence will run “and in like manner valour, which performs such and such feats,” i. e. he first praises valour generally, and then proceeds to enumerate different acts of prowess; which may be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 18, p. 149, 4, supposing it to be a fair specimen of his method of teaching, may give us a better opinion of his practical dexterity than of the scientific value of his lessons; but indeed this was the general character of the sophistical art of Rhetoric. He recommended his pupils to spoil, or destroy the effect of (*διαφθεῖρειν*), an antagonist's earnest by jest, and his pleasantry by seriousness. There is no doubt much acuteness shown in this precept. To put a serious observation in a ridiculous light, and, on the other hand, by assuming a solemn face and manner to convey the impression that your opponent has treated a serious subject with ill-timed levity, are when skilfully employed amongst the most effective weapons of debate or argument. They are, however, *ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος*; and belong rather to the "art" than to the "science" of rhetoric.

The only other notices of Gorgias which occur in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* are neither of them of much importance. In III. 14, p. 138, 7, he quotes the opening of Gorgias' *Ὀλυμπικὸς λόγος* as an illustration of the rule he had just laid down; that the *προοίμιον* of an *ἐπιδεικτικὸς λόγος* should consist of encomium or censure: and at the end of the same chapter, he finds fault with his panegyric upon the Eleans because it wants a preface, and starts at once with the main subject, *Ἥλις πόλις εὐδαίμων*.

Of his method of instruction we have already quoted Aristotle's unfavourable criticism from the *de Soph. El.* (Vol. II. p. 159). He compares the *communes loci*, and declamations—such as the *laudationes et vituperationes*, attributed by Cicero to Gorgias, Brutus, XII. 47—which the Rhetoricians wrote for the use and exercise of their pupils, to a stock of ready-made shoes; and the instruction which the Sophists gave to the offer of such ready-made articles as a substitute for teaching the art of shoe-making. From this we may form a judgment as to the scientific value of the Sophistical instructions so far as Rhetoric was concerned, and the probability of their pupils' deriving moral benefit from them; and it throws a further light upon Meno's avowal on behalf of his master, Gorgias, *Men.* p. 95, c, that he only undertook to make his disciples expert in speaking, *δευνοῦς λέγειν*, and laughed at those who made any higher profession.

Whether he wrote an art of rhetoric or not is doubtful, though the balance of probability seems to incline to the affirmative. Spengel argues the question, pp. 81—84, and comes to

the opposite conclusion, although all the decisive passages which he adduces are in favour of the former supposition. He wrote at any rate *περί ναυποῦ*, in which he gave precepts for the observation of propriety in respect of the speaker himself, the audience, and the subject of the discourse. Dionysius, who makes the statement, adds that there was nothing worth mentioning in the work, and, in fact, that the subject itself is incapable of being comprehended under any scientific system. Spengel with great probability supposes that his rule for the treatment of jest and earnest was taken by Aristotle from this treatise.

Dionysius further says that he had met with no forensic speeches of Gorgias at all; some political discourses, but very few, as well as certain *τέχνης* or treatises; but that most of his writings were declamatory compositions (the *laudes et vituperationes* of Cicero): and he then quotes the fragment of the funeral oration as a *specimen of his ordinary style*.

So far we have been employed in collecting the opinions of ancient authors, referring where it was possible to the testimony of Aristotle—a witness of unimpeachable authority and undoubted impartiality—upon Gorgias' style, method of instruction, and the services he rendered to the development of the art which he professed; and we have seen that in the main they are highly unfavourable: we must now add a few words upon the moral tendency of his teaching and the effect it was likely to have upon the minds of his pupils.

On this head we shall be obliged to have recourse to the authority of Plato; and this may be done with the less hesitation, since we have already seen by the comparison of Agathon's speech with Gorgias' own writings, and again in the case of Prodicus, that, in respect of style and manner at least, Plato's representation seems to be perfectly faithful.

From Plato then we learn that he adopted the famous Sophistical definition of Rhetoric, the art or instrument of persuasion, Gorg. 453, A, 465, A, Phileb. 58, A, with its natural consequences, and practised and taught in accordance with it. He taught his pupils that probability was to be preferred to truth, and how by force of rhetoric to make the small appear great and the great small (that is, in plain terms, to pervert and distort the truth in order to serve the purpose of the moment); to give the old an appearance of novelty, and the new an old-fashioned air; to

speak with conciseness, or spin out a subject to infinity, Phædr. 267, A. The art of rhetoric was according to him the highest of all arts, because it made everything subservient to it, voluntarily and not by compulsion, Phileb. 58, A. The object to be aimed at by those who practised it was the acquisition of power: not, be it observed, to serve the state, but to serve themselves by means of the state, Gorg. 452, D, Meno, 73, C. He did not teach virtue, or real knowledge of any subject, but he habituated his associates to reply "fearlessly and in the choicest language" to any question proposed to them, as he himself undertook to give an answer to all comers on any subject on which people chose to inquire, Men. 70, B. Such was Gorgias' notion of his art and its object, and such his method of instruction. If this account be true—and I have not intentionally exaggerated or "set down aught in malice"—it appears that he taught the young men who placed themselves under his charge to mould language, in which truth and justice were entirely disregarded, in a style so vicious that it became proverbial, with the sole object of self-aggrandisement: he taught them likewise to assume the profession of universal knowledge with the same shameless ostentation which he himself displayed: and finally he made them get his own declamations by heart. No man, as Mr Grote has observed, openly inculcates immorality, that is, in direct and undisguised terms recommends what is accounted vicious by the society in which he lives; and for this plain reason, that even if the society itself did not step in to prevent it, such an outrage upon the feelings of the respectable classes of the community would prevent any but the most abandoned from resorting to his company, and so would entirely defeat the very object he had in view. But men may be corrupted in other ways than this: and one can hardly conceive any system of instruction which would have had a more mischievous and demoralizing tendency than that which we have just described¹.

¹ Though Gorgias was certainly *sans peur*, he was not altogether *sans reproche* as to his personal character, as the following bit of scandal in Plutarch, Conj. Præc. c. 43, witnesses. Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀναγνόντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγον περὶ ὁμοίας τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὁ Μέλανθος, ὁὗτος ἡμῶν, ἔφη, συμβουλεύει περὶ ὁμο-

νίας δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἰδίᾳ τρεῖς ὄντας ὁμοσεῖν οὐ πέπεικεν. Ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικέ τις ἔρως τοῦ Γοργίου καὶ ἡλοσυνπία τῆς γυναίκος πρὸς τὸ θεραπαινίδιον.

The only references to Gorgias in Aristophanes are, I believe, Vesp. 429, where he is introduced merely as the

Before we take our final leave of Gorgias we must add one word upon his philosophical creed, contained in his work *περὶ τίνος*, a subject which we have already touched upon, Vol. I. p. 173. Mr Grote in his *History of Greece*, VIII. p. 507, adopts a novel interpretation of his thesis *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν*: which he says does not mean a denial of the existence of everything, as the words seem to imply, but only in the Eleatic or super-sensual signification of the term "existence." Mr Grote argues no doubt from the extravagant absurdity of such ultra scepticism; for he has nothing else to rest his interpretation upon. The language of the ancient authors who notice it is, as we have seen, consistent, and as explicit as words can be. Let any one read over the 5th chapter of the treatise (printed in Aristotle's works, but now supposed to be by one of his school) *de Xenophane, Zenone, et Gorgia*, and he will see that the description of the way in which he arrived at his strange conclusion necessarily presupposes the literal interpretation of the phrase *οὐδέν ἔστιν*. Amidst the obscurity and corruption of the text we can discern at least so much, that he used two arguments in support of this thesis; the one, derived from the conflicting and irreconcilable opinions of the preceding schools of philosophers, *ὅν οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐν καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἀποφαίνονται, οἱ δὲ ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ οὐχ ἓν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἀγέννητα οἱ δὲ ὡς γεγόμενα ἐπιδείκνυνται*: whence it follows, *μήτε ἐν μήτε πολλὰ εἶναι, μήτε ἀγέννητα μήτε γεγόμενα*, and consequently that *οὐδέν ἂν εἴη*¹: the other, worthy of a Sophist of his order, is based upon a quibble, the confusion of *ἐστὶ* as a copula, and as the predication of existence; for we say *τὸ μὴ ὄν ἐστι* (or *ἔστι*) *μὴ ὄν*, and therefore *τὸ μὴ ὄν* "exists" just as much as *τὸ ὄν*, and no more—for, reversing the order, if *τὸ μὴ εἶναι* "is," *τὸ εἶναι μὴ εἶναι προσήκει*, "existence and non-existence must be the same," or in other words, "nothing is."

Again, if Gorgias had merely meant to deny existence in the

father of Philip; and Av. 1701, where he and his son Philip are taken as the representatives of the "knavish" "barbarian" rhetoricians who were then reaping such a harvest in Athens by means of their tongues.

¹ This is the way in which he employed the arguments of Zeno and Melissus in arriving at his conclusion. "Following in the steps of Z. and M."

is a phrase which leads to a misapprehension, for Gorgias followed equally in the steps of the philosophers of the opposing schools, such as Heraclitus, Empedocles, Leucippus, and others who denied the unity of existence, and maintained the plurality of phenomena. He used the arguments of Zeno and Melissus so far as they served his purpose.

Eleatic sense of the word, Isocrates, Helen. § 3, would never in speaking of his doctrine have used the very strong expression, "who *had the audacity* to maintain *ὅς οὐδὲν τῶν θντων ἔστιν*," for many other philosophers had ventured to do the same without incurring the charge of irreverence; indeed the Eleatic doctrines were not only not popular, but they must have been absolutely unintelligible to all but a few of the initiated in the higher mysteries of philosophy.

True it is that if we could regard Gorgias as in earnest, it would be inconceivable that he ever could have arrived at so monstrous a conclusion; and we must then have recourse to some supposition like Mr Grote's to extricate ourselves from the difficulty. But I do not think that there is anything to lead us to suppose that Gorgias really believed in his own doctrine: it seems perfectly evident that he had no more a serious purpose in view when he maintained his thesis than the rest of the Sophistical "wranglers," *ἐριστικοί*, who abused their dialectical powers by arguing in the manner which we have illustrated in the preceding number of this series of papers; and incurred the unfeigned contempt of the great master of logic by so doing. The thesis of Gorgias was no doubt maintained as a mere exercise of dialectical skill, a specimen of his power of defending the most apparently untenable position, or making the worse cause triumph over the better; and may fairly be classed with the rest of his declamations, the laudes and vituperationes, by which he exercised his pupils' memory and supplied them with topics of discourse. We need no longer therefore be surprised that a declaimer and rhetorician like Gorgias should have appeared as a philosopher, since the exercise of his ingenuity in order to dazzle and confound was the sole object of his attempts in this kind; by this view we obtain a harmonious and consistent character instead of the combination of heterogeneous elements in one; and we are now in a position to decide with what justice he rejected the designation of *σοφιστής*, whilst he claimed the appellation of *ρήτωρ* from his admirers and the public at large¹.

E. M. COPE.

(To be continued.)

¹ Aristotle, Pol. I. 13. p. 21. 23, (Bekk.) in speaking of some insufficient definitions of virtue, such as "a good habit of the soul," "right action," and

such like, happens to say that it is better to do as Gorgias did, and simply enumerate the several virtues than define it in this way. From this the singular con-

III.

Recent Editions of St Paul's Epistles.

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a Revised Translation. By C. J. ELLICOTT, M. A. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1854.

The Epistles of St Paul to the Corinthians, with Critical Notes and Dissertations. By A. P. STANLEY, M. A. London; John Murray. 1855.

The Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans; with Critical Notes and Dissertations. By B. JOWETT, M. A. London: John Murray. 1855.

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, with a Revised Translation. By C. J. ELLICOTT, M. A. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1855.

MANY theologians, who delight to dwell on analogies, have seen the lives and characters of the three Apostles, who stand out so prominently in the history of the foundation of Christianity,

ion has been drawn by writers who willing to make the most of the arguments of classical authors (Western, *Gesch. der Beredsamkeit*, § 31. 4. 1. de Gorg. Leont. p. 47. sq.) that Gorgias was a moral philosopher, or caron inquiries in the science of ethics. the same treatise, III. 2. p. 61. 1. otte refers to an ingenious evasion un awkward question. Whilst he in Thessaly, where he seems to have st a considerable time, at Larissa, e Thessalian, who had no doubt rd his boast that he was able to an- r any question upon any subject, c him at his word, and asked him, t constituted a citizen. Partly in and partly because he was really loss, τὰ μὲν ἴσως ἀπορῶν τὰ δ' ἐρω- μενος, he replied that citizens were e by citizen-manufacturers—for as vessels made by mortar-makers were

mortars, so those that were made by the manufacturers were Larissians; for there were such people as λαρισσοποιῶν. The joke here arises from the double meaning of Λάρισσα, which besides the Thessalian city, signifies also a kettle or some cooking utensil. [Λάρισσα, not λαρισσαῖος, as Schneider, and Liddell and Scott in their Lexicon, say: for then the word would be λαρισσαίοιοι.] It is much as if some one being asked what made a citizen of the good town of Sandwich, were to reply, a cook, for he was a sandwich-maker, and is no bad specimen of the way in which Gorgias fulfilled his promise of solving any problem proposed to him. Whether δημουργός has also a double meaning, as Schneider thinks, viz. manufacturer, and a magistrate in Dorian states, may be doubted; more especially as Larissa is not a Dorian state at all.

types of three successive ages in the subsequent development of the Church. In St Peter, the Apostle of the circumcision, they discern the representative of the epoch before the reformation—in its fearless and uncompromising zeal, in its ceremonial observances and its rigid discipline. In St Paul they recognise the more liberal character of the Church in its later stage, when a larger spirit of inquiry has taken possession of men's minds, and a more advanced view prevails of the duty of toleration. Lastly of all, they seem to see in St John the type of that third and happier age, when the doctrine of Christian love, which the last of the Apostles taught at Ephesus, shall be practically recognised throughout the Church—an age, of the dawn of which some sanguine spirits have discovered traces in the signs of our own times.

It is not intended here to contest the general correctness of this view. Those who have a deep conviction of the continued presence of Christ in His Church will see nothing unnatural in the progressive development thus attributed to her, while such as have made Ecclesiastical History their study, will probably recognise the substantial truth of this account. But is it not hasty to assume that we are already on the threshold of this third age? So far as our own times have any counterpart in the character of either of the Apostles, is it not rather in St Paul than in St John that we are to look for a type of the spirit—the better spirit—of the age? If a period of fifteen centuries is to be assigned to the first stage in the history of the Church, surely three or four will be but a meagre allowance for the development of those many phases of the Christian character, which are exhibited in the life and teaching of St Paul. May we not be laying hold of some one prominent feature in the portrait of the great Apostle, and vainly fancying we have reproduced the whole man?

The teaching of St Paul may perhaps be contrasted with that of St John, as breadth with depth. The doctrine of the Apostle of the Gentiles presents so extended a surface to view that it is impossible to comprehend it at one glance. Hence individual minds seize on this or that feature with which they have the greatest sympathy. All sects and parties alike appeal to him, and none perhaps without some show of reason. Few, if any, are capable of appreciating the largeness and many-sided character

of the Apostle's mind : but meanwhile, there are not wanting men who, as expositors of detached points, have shewn themselves deficient neither in ability nor in clearness of view. The writings of the beloved disciple have fared otherwise; we feel that there is a depth in them, which those only shall be able to fathom who have learned to love as he loved. Those who best feel his meaning are often least able to express it. We must wait for a very different state of Christian society, before the doctrine of St John will find a school of teachers able enough to expound it, and of hearers capable of appreciating it when expounded. Much indeed has been done within the last twenty years towards the criticism of the text and the illustration of the external features of St John's writings, but it is no disparagement to those, who have devoted their energies to this great work, to say that there are depths beyond depths still to be penetrated. The language of the Apostle is so transparent, that one is easily deceived in any attempt to estimate what lies below the surface. At all events, whether this account of the difference between the writings of the two Apostles be accepted or rejected, the theology of the press, as well as of the pulpit, seems to shew the truth of what has been stated, that the teaching of St Paul is generally better understood and appreciated, though it be only piece-meal, than that of St John.

The list of books on the criticism of St Paul, which heads this article, is an illustration of what has been said. It is a cheering sign to see so many works of a superior cast issuing from the theological press of England, within the short space of a little more than a year. And after making every allowance for whatever defects any of these volumes exhibit, it may be fairly questioned, whether the amount of ability, intelligence and learning, brought to bear on a single New Testament writer, and given to the public within so short a time, has had any parallel in the annals of theological literature in England.

It may perhaps be necessary to say a word by way of caution before entering on this review. The task of a reviewer is, under any circumstances, an invidious one. To read in a few weeks, and pass under examination in as many days, a work which has cost the writer several years of labour, is a course which may seem to savour of impertinent presumption. The reviewer is supposed to place himself in the position of a judge, and so to

assume a sort of superiority over the object of his criticism. In publications, in which the articles are anonymous, the incognito maintained by the writer in some degree shelters him from such imputations, but in this Journal it has been thought advisable to make each contributor responsible for his own production, and a writer is therefore exposed to the full force of a charge of arrogating a superiority to which he has no claim. It is hoped that in the present instance the extravagance of any such assumptions on the part of the writer of this article will be a sufficient safeguard against their being imputed to him, and that it will not be necessary to abate any of that freedom of language which the interests of criticism and of the truth itself require—τολμητέον γὰρ οὖν τό γε ἀληθές εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα.

A thoughtful and popular writer justly complains of that 'tyrannous desire for uniformity, which confounds the judgment of men, when they are commenting upon each other . . . ; so that you often find that a long criticism upon a man, or his work, is but a demand that he should be somebody else, and his work somebody else's work¹.' In fact, a reviewer should in most cases confine himself to two questions; *first*, whether the work which the writer has undertaken was worth doing; and *secondly*, whether it is well done. It is rarely that he has any right to inquire further whether the author might not have expended his labour more advantageously in some other direction.

It would be most extravagant in the present instance to fall into that false conception of a reviewer's task, which Mr Helps thus condemns. No three writers could well be named, who, having chosen kindred subjects, have displayed more striking contrasts in their manner of treatment, than the three editors of St Paul, whose names stand at the head of this article. It would be unfair to complain that Mr Stanley has not given us any metaphysical disquisitions after the manner of Prof. Jowett, or that Prof. Jowett has not rivalled Mr Stanley's historical pictures, or to condemn Mr Ellicott because he has omitted both the one and the other, and confined himself to grammatical criticism. Let each be tried by his own standard. Where a writer attempts a task for which he has shewn himself unequal, he condemns himself; where he has succeeded he deserves our gratitude,

¹ *Spanish Conquest in America*. Vol. I. p. 275.

which should be proportional to the magnitude of the work he has assigned to himself.

Mr Ellicott, in his preface to the Galatians (p. xi.), has stated his reasons—based on the principle of the division of labour—for confining his commentary to the province of grammatical criticism. So far as success is a test of the correctness of a view, Mr Ellicott has certainly justified his opinion. It would not be difficult indeed to discover minor faults. The frequent Latinisms in his prefaces, the profusion of technical terms in his notes, the attempts to supply definite phrases for ellipses which are in their very nature indefinite¹, the inconsistency with which he gives some various readings and omits to give others more important², might be dwelt upon by any one disposed to criticise severely. But, on the whole, Mr Ellicott's Editions of the Galatians and Ephesians³ stand at the head of the New Testament literature of England for patient and accurate scholarship, and will not suffer from a comparison with the best works of Germany. Mr Ellicott's work is not built on a foundation of hay or stubble. If he has not attempted any high flight, he has at least accomplished his task substantially and well.

The editions of Mr Stanley and Prof. Jowett proceed upon one plan. We find in both the same apparatus of introductions, critical notes, translations and essays. But in the execution there is a wide difference, and, some common sympathies excepted,

¹ e.g. on Gal. i. 20, ii. 9, v. 13. St Paul's ellipses seem to have caused as much trouble to ancient transcribers as they have to modern critics.

e.g. 1 Cor. iv. 6. *ἵνα ἐν ἡμῶν μάθητε τὸ μὴ [φρονεῖν] ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται.*

1 Cor. v. 1. *τοιαύτη πορνεία ἦτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν [ὀνομάζεται].*

1 Cor. xi. 24. *τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν [κλόμενον al. aliter].*

The words in brackets are found in the Text. Rec. with more or less MSS. authority.

2 Cor. viii. 24. *ἐνδεικνύμενοι [Text. Rec. ἐνδείξασθε].*

Gal. v. 13. *μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν [F. G. suppl. δῶτε].*

See also 2 Cor. ix. 7, Rom. xiii. 7.

Of Mr Jowett's interpretation of

Gal. v. 13 see below, note 2, p. 106.

After a comparison of these passages, perhaps there will seem nothing harsh in supplying the ellipsis in Gal. ii. 3, 4 (*οὐδὲ τίτος... ἡγαγέσθην περιμηθῆναι. διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισδύτους ψευδαδέλφους*), as the sense seems to require, thus: "But on account of (i. e. to satisfy) the false brethren (the attempt was made);" and the words *οἱς οὐδὲ* in the following clause may have been omitted merely on grammatical grounds by a transcriber ill acquainted with St Paul's usages.

² e.g. of the omission of *οἱς οὐδὲ* in Gal. ii. 5.

³ Of the commentary on the Ephesians I speak less confidently, as I have not examined it so carefully as the other.

these companion volumes present only a marked contrast. Mr Stanley is essentially a historian, Prof. Jowett a metaphysician. The one is external, positive, definite to the verge of superficiality; the other is subjective, negative, profound even at the risk of obscurity. The one delights in discovering inobtrusive resemblances, the other in unmasking false analogies. The notes of the one teem with illustration, those of the other are singularly deficient in this respect. Few can paint a historical picture with more faithfulness and vigour than Mr Stanley. Few can rival the depth of thought of Mr Jowett in portraying a mental phenomenon.

Mr Jowett, indeed, seems to regard a fondness for that kind of descriptive painting, in which Mr Stanley excels, as a dangerous snare. These are his words:

It is not one of the objects of the present work, to enter minutely either into the history of the cities to which the Epistles were addressed, or into the local features of the country in which they were situated. To fill the mind with historical pictures or descriptions of scenery, will not in any degree help us to feel as the Apostles felt or think as they thought, any more than the history of the reign of George the Third, or a description of the scenery of Somersetshire or Cornwall, would enable us to understand the life and character of Wesley or Whitfield. Interesting as such pictures may be, they tend to withdraw us from a higher interest, which is to be found only in the private character of the Gospel narrative itself.—(Vol. I. pp. 27, 28).

And yet, I think, most people feel that they know the Apostle better, and are placed in a more advantageous position for appreciating his words and actions, by having travelled with him through the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, and caught a glimpse at proconsuls and legates as they passed, under the guidance of such a cicerone as Mr Howson for instance, in the 'Life of St Paul.'

In fact, the question is not simply 'What impression did the beauties of natural scenery make on the Apostle's mind?' or, 'How far did the history of this or that place affect the fortunes of the Church?' Even if the most unfavourable answer be given to these questions, the plea for such descriptions is not exhausted. The traveller would still look down with intense interest on those swelling Thuringian forests from the castle of the Wartburg, though he were told that Luther scarcely vouchsafed them a second glance, too intently busied in translating his Bible, or hurling defiance at the Pope, and his ink-stand at the

devil. Nor does any one think of blaming Scott for introducing the description of fair Melrose into 'the Lay,' though he candidly tells us that his hero 'Little reck'd of the scene so fair.' The justification is substantially the same in all these cases. Any description, which enables us to realise those in whom we are interested, demands our gratitude. We are in danger of viewing the characters of past history as vague abstractions, and we want to be recalled to the sense that they were real, living, acting men. In the case of an Apostle there is more than common danger of falling into this error, as popular conceptions will testify. While we view him as the penman of the Spirit, we are apt to forget that he was also one of ourselves, and our understanding of his writings is materially impaired by this. Any description, which places him in connexion with outward scenes and events, however little they may have affected him personally, gives a reality to the portraiture, which we cannot afford to dispense with.

Still Mr Jowett's assertion, if a little too sweeping, is probably true¹ in the main, that, 'of that sensibility to the beauties of scenery, or of that romantic recollection of the past, which are such remarkable characteristics of our own day, there is no trace in the writings of the New Testament, nor any reason to suppose that they had a place in the minds of their authors.' And we may accept this as a protest against the extravagant tendency to impute such impressions to the Apostles, which is often observable in books of a descriptive character. We may well believe that St Paul's spirit was too deeply moved at the idolatries of Athens, to allow him, as he stood on Mars' Hill, to gaze dreamily on the clouds sailing athwart the sky from Lycabettus: that he was too far absorbed in stemming the torrent of vice and profanity in the camp, to watch from the rampart of the Prætorium the tips of the Sabine hills rosy with the setting sun, and the thick veil of mist rising slowly from the plain below. Even if his work had not been of this engrossing kind, we may question whether it would have been otherwise. We know how Socrates, in language which must have seemed shocking and

¹ True, that is, as regards the impressions of natural scenery, but we can scarcely allow its correctness of the

'recollection of the past,' when we remember the character and influence of the national history of the Jews.

almost profane to Wordsworth, declared that he confined his walks to the city, 'because the fields and trees had nothing to teach him, while the people in the city had¹.' And there is no reason for supposing that the details of scenery would have made a much more vivid impression on the Apostle than they did on the ancient mind generally: though he would have viewed them in a purer and a different light from his heathen contemporaries, as the tokens of God's goodness, and not merely as the sources of physical enjoyment.

But to return from this digression. Both editors have adopted the text of Lachmann, and, if the alternative lay between this and the 'Textus Receptus,' no objection could be made to their choice. The text of the fourth century has every likelihood of being less corrupt than that of the sixteenth. Still Lachmann did not pretend that his readings always proceeded from the sacred writers themselves, and in many cases, true to his principle of giving the text as he conceived it to have stood in the fourth century, he retained those the genuineness of which he must have condemned in his own mind. To accept Lachmann's text as final therefore would be to use it for a purpose, which the great critic himself would probably have been the first to reprobate.

Prof. Jowett and Mr Stanley have ventured, it is true, to speak in favour of a departure from Lachmann's readings occasionally in their notes, but generally they are far too ready to accept his text as final. The following is perhaps the most flagrant instance of a passionate fondness for Lachmann's text at any cost. It may appear to some a *reductio ad absurdum* of this extravagant admiration.

The passage 1 Cor. vii. 32—34 stands thus in the received text: ὁ ἀγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἀρίσκει τῷ κυρίῳ· ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πῶς ἀρίσκει τῇ γυναίκι. μεμέρισται ἡ γυνή καὶ ἡ παρθένος. ἡ ἀγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ᾗ δὺλα καὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι· ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρίσκει τῷ ἀνδρὶ. Tischendorf reads καὶ μεμέρισται καὶ, in other respects agreeing with the Received Text². Lachm. with A, B, has τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μεμέρισται.

¹ Phædr. p. 230 D. If the real Socrates is speaking here, as seems probable, we must recognise the disciple rather than the master, in the description of scenery which Plato puts into

the mouth of Socrates immediately before, p. 230 B, C.

² Yet we are told that 'Tischendorf has substantially the same text as Lachmann, but punctuates differently.'

καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἀγαπῶσα καὶ ἡ συμπόσιος ἡ ἀγαπῶσα περιπατῶν τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, &c., &c. Now it seems not improbable that Lachmann gave the reading thus, because he found it in his authorities, not because he believed it to represent the original words of St Paul. Indeed the sense is completely shattered by adopting this reading; and, even if it were otherwise, the repetition of ἀγαπῶσα would raise a suspicion against its integrity. Yet Mr Stanley not only retains it, but even considers that 'the sense is in favour of' Lachmann's reading. It is no easy matter indeed to find any interpretation whatever, but by a remarkable diversification of the meaning of ἀγαπῶσα and a little juggling with particles the following sense is elicited by Mr Stanley: 'The unmarried man has indeed anxiety, but it is for the cause of Christ: but the married man has the additional anxiety about worldly matters, and the gratification of his wife, and is *thus divided between* the interests of Christ and of the world. In like manner with regard to women, both the married wife and the unmarried woman have an anxiety to please Christ, and be ready for His coming; but the married woman has *besides* the additional anxiety to please her husband.' Does Mr Stanley intend to apply the *lucus a non lucendo* principle to the interpretation of ἀγαπῶσα in one clause and not in the rest? If so what authority has he for this sense, and on what ground does he vary its meaning in the two clauses? or do his words signify something quite different from what they seem to signify?

Both editors have pursued the plan of excluding direct reference to previous commentators, whose views they adopt or combat. Much may be said on behalf of this plan; for, as the value of an opinion generally depends on other considerations than the names by which it is supported, little is lost by the omission, while reparation may be made for obligations to others by a general acknowledgment. But Prof. Jowett goes a step further: he not only omits to mention his *secondary* authorities, but as frequently as not neglects to give any reference to *primary* sources. Thus the reader is told that Strabo gives such and such an account of a certain locality, or that St Jerome expresses himself in a particular manner with regard to a certain sect,

There is another error in Mr Stanley's account. 'The common reading is based on the reading of D.' Has he misconstrued Tischendorf's note "c E (? si ita habet, falsus est scriba exscribens D)"?

without being allowed any opportunity of testing the accuracy of the statement. This is likely to be injurious both to the author and his readers: for the necessity of revising references is a wholesome check on the fallibility of the writer: while the omission of authorities places his readers in a position of reliance upon him, which interferes greatly with their independence of judgment.

The two editors have wisely chosen their respective portions, in the division of labour. As there is no Epistle which would afford greater scope for Prof. Jowett's metaphysical speculations, than that to the Romans, so the letters to the Corinthians present a fairer field than any others for historical illustration, in which Mr Stanley excels. Yet, notwithstanding this, we rise from a perusal of Mr Stanley's volumes with an impression that he has taken upon himself a task for which he was unfitted either by his intellectual constitution or by his previous training. His edition of the Corinthians is far from being without merit. His illustrations are felicitous, his historical pictures are vigorous and striking. He is peculiarly happy in tracing the alternations of feeling as they surge through the Apostle's mind. He catches and notes down each shadow of emotion with great quickness and sagacity. There is besides a freshness and geniality running through the work. Lastly, if he is not always profound, he is always interesting.

Indeed Mr Stanley possesses so many noble qualities of heart and head, that it is painful to have to charge him with vital defects as a commentator. To speak plainly, he seems to be entirely wanting in that habit of strict accuracy, which is the first and second and third requisite for a successful critic. That this charge is not unfounded, I trust the following instances will shew, though they might have been multiplied many times over.

Mr Stanley in his preface (Vol. I. p. xi.) gives an account, which professes to be extracted from the Prolegomena of Wetstein and others, of the MSS. on which the text of the Epistles to the Corinthians is founded. The whole occupies a little more than a page and a half. Accuracy is the only merit to which a list of this kind can lay claim, and the absence of this is scarcely pardonable, where the materials are so easily attainable. Unfortunately Mr Stanley's account is made up of statements either absolutely incorrect, or so loosely worded as to

mislead others. The lacunæ in C are wrongly given, the most important of all (from 2 Cor. x. 8, to xiii. 13,) being omitted. D, we are told, is called Claromontanus, 'from the Monastery of Clermont, near Beauvais.' This indeed is true as far as Beza is concerned; but if it was necessary to say so much, misapprehension would have been avoided by mentioning also that there are grave reasons for believing that Beza was wrong in specifying the locality as 'apud Bellovacos,' and that the MS. (if indeed he did not confuse it with another) was procured from the more famous place of the same name in the Auvergne. The lacunæ in F and G are wrongly given, 1 Cor. iii. 8—16 being ascribed to F, and 1 Cor. vi. 7—14 to G, whereas the two are common to both. E is said to have been once 'at St Germain's.' What Mr Stanley understood by this is not clear; but I think few of his readers would discover, from his language, that the locality which gave its name to the Codex Sangermanensis is not the town of that name in the neighbourhood of the royal palace, but the monastery of St Germain des Prés in Paris. G, Mr Stanley says, is called 'Boernerianus from its first owner, Prof. Boerner of Dresden.' Wetstein tells a different tale (Tom. II. p. 9): 'Hunc codicem nescio unde sibi acquisivit *Paulus Junius*... Post mortem Junii...fuit *P. Francii*,...deinde *C. F. Boerneri* Professoris Lipsiensis.' Of J we are informed, that it is called 'Angelicus Romanus,' 'from Cardinal Angelo Mai.' It really bears this name, as being deposited in the Angelican Library at Rome, founded by Cardinal Angelo Rocca some two centuries before Mai saw the light. Add to this list of errors three wrong references, and Mr Stanley's account of the Uncial MSS. will not appear very trustworthy. After a loosely-worded statement about the versions, Mr Stanley proceeds—'Of the cursive MSS., between the 9th and 15th century, there are 300 containing St Paul's Epistles, *all of them doubtless* with these two Epistles.' This was a rash conjecture to hazard when the probabilities were so strongly against it; but at all events a glance at Scholz's list will shew its incorrectness.

All these mistakes are crowded within the narrow compass of a little more than a page and a half. Still, if Mr Stanley's errors had been confined to this passage, they might have been overlooked. And indeed in a work covering so much space, and embracing so many details, the plea of human fallibility might

well have been allowed for an occasional misstatement. But unfortunately errors are sown broadcast through the two volumes; and these often of the most palpable kind, and such as might have been avoided by less than ordinary care, and reference to the commonest and most accessible sources of information.

Mr Stanley's account of ἀγάπη (I. p. 287) is a sample of his habitual inaccuracy. 'The word ἀγάπη is in this sense (i. e. of the christian virtue of love) altogether peculiar to the New Testament; and in the New Testament to the writings of Paul, Peter and John.' He should perhaps have added St Jude (v. 2, ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη), and certainly the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 10, x. 24), unless the view seemingly held with regard to its authorship in the 'Sermons on the Apostolical Age' has been since abandoned. 'The verb ἀγαπᾶν, indeed, is used in classical Greek, but in the sense only of acquiescence and contentment, or of esteem and value.' This I believe to be a wrong account of the classical usage of this word. In their earliest sense ἀγαπάω and its derivatives (ἀγαπάζω, ἀμφαγαπάζω) almost invariably denote the *outward expression* of affection or respect. They are used for instance of welcoming a stranger (Od. vii. 33, xiv. 381, xxiii. 214), or fondling a child (Il. xvi. 192). And even in passages where one might be disposed to interpret them otherwise, they will still bear this meaning, (e. g. Od. xxi. 289). Indeed we may question whether the Homeric ἀγαπητός in the phrase υἱὸς ἀγαπητός ought not to be explained 'fondled¹, caressed,' rather than 'beloved.' Even so late as the age of the Tragicædians, the notion of an *external act* is still prominent. Ἀγαπάω and its derivatives appear to be found in Euripides alone of the great trio; and in the only three passages where they occur in this writer, they always refer to paying the last honours to the dead, (Hel. 937, Suppl. 764, Phœn. 1327). How or when the transition in meaning from the outward expression to the inward feeling was effected, we have not data to determine; but it is clear that ἀγαπάω was commonly used in the latter sense at the commence-

¹ A passage in the Odyssey (xvi. 17) seems to point to this as the proper meaning of ἀγαπητός:

ὥς δὲ πατὴρ ὃν παῖδα φίλα φρονέων ἀγαπάσει,

ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ,
μοῦνον τηλύγετον, τῷ ἐπ' ἄλγεα πολλὰ
μογήσει·
ὥς τότε Τηλέμαχον θεοειδέα διὸς ὑφορβὸς
πάντα κύσειν περιφύς.

ment of the 4th century B. C. But to return to Mr Stanley's account of ἀγάπη. 'The substantive ἀγάπη only occurs in Cant. ii. 4, v. 6, viii. 6, 7, for sexual love, and there probably suggested by the Hebrew feminine from אֶהְבֶּה [‘form אֶהְבֶּה? ’]’ This is loosely worded, but in no sense true. There are no less than fifteen instances given in Trommius of the occurrence of ἀγάπη in the LXX. In another passage (II. p. 290) Mr Stanley in discussing the same word is equally unfortunate. ‘In many passages the Apostle speaks of love....it is a new virtue. Its name first occurs in his Epistles.’ This last statement is ambiguous and, if taken literally, is false. ‘In the first three (Gospels) the word (ἀγάπη) itself is not used.’ Would Mr Stanley expunge Matth. xxiv. 12, Luke xi. 42?

Here are other specimens of the same carelessness.

1 Cor. viii. 13, *eis τὸν αἰῶνα*, ‘for ever.’ ‘It occurs frequently in the Gospels, but only here in the Epistles.’ The phrase is found twice in St John (1 Joh. ii. 17, 2 Joh. 2), once in St Peter (i. 25 from LXX), and frequently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, sometimes as cited from the Old Testament, and sometimes in the writer's own words.

1 Cor. xi. 2. ‘From this (trado) was formed the barbarous substantive “traditio.”’ Yet Cicero and Livy, Pliny and Tacitus, are vouchers for the respectability of this barbarous intruder.

1 Cor. xvi. 16, *συνεργούντι καὶ κοπιῶντι*. ‘The force of the *σὺν* is, as it were, carried on to *κοπιῶντι*, there being no Greek compound of [omit?] *συνκοπιάω*.’ The word *συνκοπιάω*, which is unobjectionable in itself, is given in the common lexicons, and in fact occurs in Ignatius ad Polyc. c. 6.

2 Cor. viii. 24. ‘*ἔνδειξις* is both in the New Testament and in the classical writers always used for a “a strong,” “a decisive” proof.’ Perhaps Mr Stanley was thinking of *ἀπόδειξις*. The word *ἔνδειξις* in classical Greek is an Attic law-term for a peculiar kind of information lodged against an offender.

Akin to this is Mr Stanley's error in his account of *ἐπιτιμία*, 2 Cor. ii. 6. ‘The word *ἐπιτιμία* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament; but its meaning in classical Greek is in favour of the sense of “fine” or “rebuke.”’ This, it must be confessed, is a discovery; *ἐπιτιμία* in classical Greek generally means ‘the possession of the franchise’ as opposed to *ἀριμία*. The fullest lexicons do not recognise Mr Stanley's sense of *ἐπιτιμία* as classical.

In Vol. I. p. 297, Mr Stanley says, that 'the word ordinarily used in sacred as in classical Greek for the language of a nation or country, is *διάλεκτος* and not *γλῶσσα*.' St Luke is the only sacred writer who uses *διάλεκτος*. Of classical Greek the assertion is still more incorrect. *φωνή* is perhaps the word oftenest used in this sense, but *γλῶσσα* is of far more frequent occurrence than *διάλεκτος*. For instance, there are eleven examples given in Schweighæuser's *Lexicon to Herodotus* of this sense of *γλῶσσα*, not one of *διάλεκτος*.

In other cases Mr Stanley's errors involve more important questions than those of a merely critical interest. For example on 2 Cor. xi. 27, *ἐν λιμῇ καὶ δίψει, ἐν νηστείαις πολλάκις*, he has the boldness to say: 'Not voluntary "fasts," of which there is no instance in the Apostle's life, unless it be Acts xiii. 3, and of which the mention would be out of place in an enumeration of hardships resulting from natural causes; but "days without food," as in vi. 5.' This interpretation may be the correct one, but the statement which I have italicised and by which it is supported, is certainly false. 'When they had ordained them elders in the church,' says St Luke, 'they (Paul and Barnabas) having prayed with fastings (*προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν*) commended them to the Lord on whom they had believed,' Acts xiv. 23.

Even in the domain of history, in which one might have looked for more exactness from Mr Stanley, the same inaccuracy prevails. Here is an instance: 'Such (i.e. a Macedonian Christian) in all probability was the author of the Acts, who must have joined him from Philippi and also accompanied him to Rome (II. p. 146),' and later on he speaks of St Luke as a Macedonian, 'if the view be correct which supposes the author of the Acts to have joined him (St Paul) from Philippi,' (II. p. 160). Strangely enough the authorities referred to in both places in support of this theory, are the very passages of St Luke (Acts xvi. 10, 40), which are generally believed to shew that the writer joined St Paul at Troas *before* he visited Macedonia the first time. How Mr Stanley can have put any other construction on the plain language of St Luke, passes comprehension. At all events an explanation was needed. But for Mr Stanley's mistake, it would have been unnecessary to state that the first person appears first in the narrative during St Paul's stay at Troas before crossing over into Macedonia for his first visit, Acts xvi. 10, that it is dropped at xvi. 40, where the Apostle leaves Philippi, and that it

is resumed again xx. 5, after his subsequent visit: thus seeming to shew that St Luke had remained there during the interval and was taken up by St Paul on the latter occasion. In fact there is no sufficient reason for departing from the common tradition that St Luke was a native of Antioch¹, supported as it is by slight circumstantial evidence, and not invalidated by a single consideration of importance. But I think it would give a significance to St Luke's use of the first person, and explain his silence about the time and circumstances of his joining the Apostle, if we were to suppose that Theophilus, to whom the history is dedicated, was himself a native of Philippi, and had made the acquaintance of the Evangelist during his protracted stay there, between the two visits of St Paul.

Nor does Mr Stanley redeem his character for scholarship in matters purely grammatical. Let us look for a moment at his treatment of tenses. On 1 Cor. i. 17, Mr Stanley has this note, 'Unbelievers are regarded by St Paul as already dead,—believers as already saved. "A sweet savour...in them that are saved, and in them that perish," 2 Cor. ii. 15.'² These present tenses, σωζομένοις, ἀπολλυμένοις, it appears, are to be considered as *pasts*: but, as if this were not enough, we have only to turn to a later note, and we discover that these same tenses are treated no longer as *pasts* but as *futures*. On 1 Cor. xv. 2, Mr Stanley says, 'The means by which you are to be saved at the last (σώζεσθε being used in a future sense, as in the phrase "The Lord added to the Church such as should be saved," (τοὺς σωζομένους), Acts ii. 17, and

¹ i. e. Antioch in Syria. In conjecturing that there is some confusion with the Pisidian Antioch in this legend, Mr Alford has allowed himself to be led astray by an illusive interpretation of Acts xiv. 22. Speaking of the preaching of Paul and Barnabas, St Luke uses the words παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Here δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν κ.τ.λ. is the language of the preachers themselves, as the word ὅτι shews; and this abrupt transition from the oblique to the direct narrative is especially characteristic of St Luke's style, and one subsidiary proof of the unity of authorship between different parts of the

Acts, and between the Acts and the third Gospel. Winer Gramm. § 64. III. 2. gives only a few instances out of many. Mr Alford in his note on the passage, and in his prolegomena (II. p. 7), wrongly takes this language as *indicative of the writer's presence at Antioch in Pisidia on this occasion*. He rightly rejects the 'common' explanation that ἡμᾶς is used by the writer 'as a Christian and of all Christians.'

² Nor is Mr Jowett's language more satisfactory on this expression; 'all calculations respecting the future were to them lost in the fact that they were already saved—οἱ σωζόμενοι and οἱ σωθησόμενοι indifferently.' Vol. II. p. 458.

compare 1 Cor. i. 18, 2 Cor. iv. 3.' Of the same chameleon-like complexion seems to be Mr Stanley's conception of the aorist. On 2 Cor. v. 15, he remarks, 'ἀπέθανον may either be "died" or "are dead." It has the full indefiniteness of the aorist.' But in a later passage (II. p. 213) we read, 'It is true that the aorist occasionally bears an indefinite signification, which cannot be rendered as applying to any special past time. Thus in 1 Cor. vii. 28. Perhaps also "are dead" in 2 Cor. v. 15, should be the reading of ἀπέθανον. But these perhaps are the only instances in which the rendering by the past tense is not admissible, and in most it is required.' What again is Mr Stanley's view of the force of the perfect, may perhaps be gathered from the following note (on 2 Cor. xii. 9). 'εἶρηκέν μοι. The perfect tense seems to indicate that this was the constant reply, "Thrice I besought Him, and each time His answer *has been* this."¹ But the treat-

¹ Yet a reference to Winer would have set Mr Stanley right; 'dieses Perfectum steht von einer Eröffnung (des Herrn) die nicht bloß als damals geschehen sondern als fortdauernd gültig (*er hat mich beschieden*, und dabei muss ichs bewenden lassen) bezeichnet werden soll.' Gramm. § 41. 4. note.

A Quarterly Reviewer (No. cxv.), who otherwise shews an exemplary regard for the rights of grammar, still feels obliged to confess that the strict force of the tenses is not always observed in the N. T. His only reason for this concession appears to be the necessity of sometimes rendering an aorist by a perfect in English. But this difficulty occurs constantly in classical writers, (see Vol. I. p. 317 of this Journal) who yet escape any charge of inaccuracy, and is to be referred to a difference of idiom between Greek and English—a difference not greater than may be found in the use of tenses between two modern languages, as for instance, between English and German. The Germans frequently use a perfect, where we should use an aorist.

More of the nature of an 'experimentum crucis' is the usage of the Greek perfect. If in a single instance it were

impossible to assign to this tense its proper force, as *præteritum in præsentis*, the defence of the accuracy of the N. T. writers in this respect would be considerably weakened. But this appears not to be the case. Winer has satisfactorily explained εἶρηκε in 2 Cor. xii. 9 as above. He seems to give up εἶληφε in Apoc. v. 7. Yet I think the perfect here has a peculiar force. St John's words are καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἶληφεν [τὸ βιβλίον] ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. Καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον ... ἔπεσαν ... καὶ ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες Ἄξιός ἐστι λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον. Here it is obvious that the 'taking of the book' is the central fact, round which the others are grouped. The change from the aorist to the perfect marks this emphasis—'He *has taken* the book—the event long looked for *has taken* place.' The effect of this transition is similar to that which is produced in many passages in classical writers by the change from the aorist to the present, when the principal event is spoken of. See Jelf, Gramm. § 401. 6. Another perf. 2 Cor. ii. 13. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα ... οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἀνεῖν τῷ πνεύματι μου τῷ μὴ εὐρεῖν με τίτῳ ... ἀλλὰ ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆλθον εἰς Μακεδονίαν, presents

ment of tenses in these volumes is so hopelessly confused and contradictory, that any attempt to analyse it would be vain¹.

Nor do we find more success in the exegesis of words. Two instances must suffice :—

2 Cor. xi. 8, 'ὀψώνιον, "pay, as of a soldier," so used, because the soldier's pay was originally paid in what the Greeks called ὀψώνιον, grain, meat, &c. Cæsar, *B. G.* i. 23. 1; Polyb. vi. 39. 12.' Polybius here *distinguishes* between the soldier's ration of corn (σιτομετρείσθαι) and his allowance (ὀψώνιον), which was, at least in theory, to enable him to procure ὄψον for his bread. So too Dionys. Ant. Rom. ix. 36.

On 1 Cor. v. 10, we have an account of πλεονέκτης, in which Mr Stanley accepts the view that πλεονεξία often signifies 'sensuality' in the New Testament². This view seems to be without foundation, and to have arisen from the common but mischievous practice of assigning to words, as their independent meaning, significations which they derive in special cases from connexion with a particular context. Mr Stanley's instances do not bear out this sense. Few, I think, will see this meaning in 2 Pet. ii. 3, ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ πλαστοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεύονται. In 1 Thess. ii. 5, there is no more reason for assigning the meaning 'sensuality' to ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας in the one clause than to ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας in the other. The position of πλεονεξία in its ordinary sense in the catalogues of sins, Eph. v. 3—5, Col. iii. 5, is as natural as in other instances (e.g. 1 Cor. v. 10, 11, vi. 10). In Ephes. iv. 19, εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ, and in 1 Thess. iv. 6, τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι, the notion of sensuality is contained in the context, not in the word itself. In the latter instance, for example, why assign this special sense to

more difficulty, though unnoticed by Winer, and passed over by the commentators generally. The explanation seems to be that St Paul views his distress during that anxious period as a *lasting lesson*, for this is his tone throughout the first chapter, and especially v. 9: αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὸ ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θανάτου ἐσχήκαμεν ἵνα μὴ πεποιθότες ὦμεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς. In a later passage, 2 Cor. vii. 5, οὐδεμίαν ἐσχηκεν ἀνεσιν ἡ σὰρξ ἡμῶν, the word ἐσχηκεν has probably crept in from the earlier passage, (ii. 13,) and we should read ἐσχεν after Lachm. with B, F, G, K. A friend has

ingeniously suggested that ἐσχηκα in St Paul is a 1st aor. formed from σχήσω like ἐθηκα from θήσω; but one would desire some confirmation before accepting this.

¹ See for instance the notes on 1 Cor. xiv. 20, 2 Cor. i. 13, ii. 13, xii. 1, viii. 17 (compared with 1 Cor. v. 9); and contrast Mr Stanley's professions (Vol. II. p. 312, 3) with the manner in which the tenses are actually treated in the translation which follows.

² Mr Jowett too seems disposed to make the words πλεονεξία and ἀκαθαρσία convertible. See notes 1 Thess. ii. 3, Gal. v. 19, Rom. i. 29.

πλεονεκτεῖν and not to ὑπερβαίνειν? Is it thought that ἀδικία is used in classical Greek with the meaning 'sensuality,' because in the Nicomachean Ethics (v. 4) μοιχεία is viewed as a species of ἀδικία? Mr Stanley's passages only shew that St Paul sometimes contemplated the sin of sensuality as a sort of πλεονεξία, not that he assigned the special meaning of 'sensuality' to the word itself: and this is all that the language of the Greek commentators implies¹. One of Mr Stanley's solutions of his phenomenon is this:

'It may be from some accidental connexion of the word πλεονεξία with "idolatry," whence its use for the sensuality which so often accompanied idolatry. This last view is confirmed by the use of the word צָרָה (which usually means, and is translated "covetousness" or "rapine") in Ps. cxix. 36, "Incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not to covetousness," where the context would rather require the sense of "idolatry," as in v. 37, and by the fact that the same word in Ezek. xxxiii. 31, is by the LXX. translated μᾶσματα, as though they had read צָרָה "idol." So also Col. iii. 5.'

What does this note mean? Is Mr Stanley's argument from the passage in Ezekiel this? *Because* the LXX. translators were led either by their own carelessness or ignorance, or by a wrong reading, into a confusion between צָרָה and צָרָה, or *because* generally by a slight transposition of letters these words might easily be confused, *therefore* an 'accidental connexion' was established between their respective meanings 'covetousness' and 'abomination' or 'idol,' and hence between 'covetousness' and 'sensuality'; and *therefore* the Apostle, on the strength of the connexion thus established, used πλεονεξία indifferently for the one or the other? If not, what is the argument?

If our belief in Mr Stanley's efficiency as a commentator has not received its death-blow already, it will scarcely survive his self-contradictions. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the translation at the end of the second volume with the notes, will find how numerous these are. Meanwhile let two instances suffice.

1 Cor. ii. 13. πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες.

πν. πν. συγκρ. (not 'comparing' but) 'interpreting and explaining (as in LXX. etc.) spiritual things by spiritual.' If πνευματικοῖς were masculine, and so formed the connexion with what follows, it would be, not ψυχικὸς δέ, but γάρ.

(Commentary, I. pp. 65, 66.)

'Interpreting spiritual things to spiritual men.'

(Translation, II. p. 318.)

¹ See the passages from Chrysostom, Theophylact and Theodoret in Suicer, s. vv. Πλεονεκτέω, Πλεονεξία.

1 Cor. xv. 1, 2. *γὰρ ἵνα ὑμῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον....τίμι λόγῳ εὐαγγελισά-
μην ὑμῖν.*

"I remind you of the Gospel, i.e. of the way in which I preached it." On the phrase *τίμι λόγῳ* there is no peculiar stress: it is the same kind of redundancy as in the expression *λόγος σοφίας* etc., and merely calls attention to the manner, as distinct from the subject of his preaching.' (I. p. 345.)

A few pages later Mr Stanley refers to this passage in the following language: "He had recalled also the very words in which he had announced it (*τίμι λόγῳ*)." (I. p. 363.)

Indeed Mr Stanley seems so far to forget what he has written at times, as to conclude a note in a manner quite inconsistent with its commencement. For instance, the conclusion of the remarks on *ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκωμεν* (2 Cor. v. 16), is quite irreconcilable with the interpretation of *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* (v. 15) given on the same page¹. And in Vol. II. p. 129, the second hypothesis is

¹ We might almost conjecture that Mr Stanley had written the greater part of his note, before he became aware of Mr Jowett's deductions from this passage (see Jowett, I. p. 7), and that the clause 'But the words lead us to infer that something of this kind had once been his own state of mind etc.' was added in consideration of these speculations. But the result is a complete incongruity. *Desinit in pristin.*

With regard to Mr Jowett's speculations, though we may allow a certain growth and spiritual progress in St Paul, as both reasonable in itself and in accordance with the Apostle's own language (Phil. iii. 13), still any such difference between his earlier and later teaching as Mr Jowett's opinion involves, is directly contradicted by his strong assertion of the unchangeableness of the Gospel, Gal. i. 6 (remarked by Mr Jowett's Quarterly Reviewer); for occurring as it does in the very Epistle in which Mr Jowett finds the strongest proof of the Apostle's change of doctrine, this language could have excited nothing but ridicule in the Galatians, to whom it was addressed, from its monstrous incongruity, if his view of St Paul's

earlier teaching were correct. Nor does this view seem to be borne out by the passages adduced in its support, if rightly interpreted.

As an answer to Mr Jowett it might be sufficient to say that his interpretation of these passages depends on a recognition of the distinct value of every word, and that after so low an estimate of the precision of the Apostle's language as he has given elsewhere, we might reasonably refuse, on his own grounds, to follow him, when he asks us to recognise the integrity of meaning of *ἐτι* or *νῦν* or *ἐι καὶ*. But this would be an *argumentum ad hominem*, and the truth would gain nothing by it. Let us therefore examine the passages themselves.

Mr Jowett's interpretation of 2 Cor. v. 16, *ὥστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα ὀδοῦμεν κατὰ σάρκα· ἐι δὲ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκωμεν*, depends on two points, (1) that *ἡμεῖς* and *ἐγνώκαμεν* refer to the Apostle himself and that he is not 'speaking in his own person of Christians generally:' and (2) that the phrase *ἐι καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν* implies that the thing had taken place. But of (1) we cannot

one which he has himself excluded in a former part of the same note.

Typographical errors are innumerable. Words are interchanged; lines or parts of lines are sometimes transposed; the Hebrew points are almost as often wrong as right; the Greek accents are strangely abnormal. If one may judge by the accents of γλώσσα, γλώσαι, γλώσσαν, five times on the same page, (Vol. i. p. 297) compared with γλώσσαις of the text, or those of ἀντιλήψις, κυβερνήσις compared with ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις (1 Cor. xii. 28), the corrector of Mr Stanley's sheets seems to have regarded the accentuation of oblique cases as following the nominative independently of the quantity of the final syllable

allow that there is ground for confining *ἡμεῖς* and *ἐγνώκαμεν* to the Apostle himself. It is very rarely that St Paul uses the plural when he speaks exclusively of himself—perhaps 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2 is the only indisputable instance, and here the plural is further defined ver. 5, *καὶ γὰρ μηκέτι στέγων ἐπεμψα*,—whereas it is his constant habit to identify himself with the faithful. As regards (2) another passage, 1 Cor. vii. 21, *εἰ καὶ δούνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι*, shews that *εἰ καὶ* may introduce a condition which is hypothetical, and that we cannot there assume that *εἰ καὶ* . . . *ἐγνώκαμεν* describes what had actually taken place. These qualifying circumstances considered, no more definite sense can be safely attached to the passage than this: 'Though you or I or any faithful brother at any previous time have known Christ according to the flesh, yet now we know Him (not 'I shall know him,' as Mr Jowett) so no more.' This foundation will scarcely bear Mr Jowett's superstructure.

The explanation given of Gal. v. 11, *ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι*, falls to the ground, if the second *ἔτι* does not refer distinctly to time, though it is far from established if this be conceded. But the usage of St Paul is distinctly in favour of those who consider *ἔτι* as 'logical.' Like *ἤδη*

or *νῦν* δέ in Greek, or 'tandem' in Latin or 'now' in English, this temporal adverb sometimes passes over to a logical sense. The phrase *τί ἔτι* only occurs twice besides in St Paul (Rom. iii. 7 ix. 19), and in both cases with this logical meaning. It is worth remarking too that both these instances occur in the Epistle which most strongly resembles, and is perhaps nearly coincident in point of time with, that to the Galatians. There is a strong probability therefore that the second *ἔτι* is logical and signifies 'this being the case.' For the first *ἔτι* see Gal. i. 10, *εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἡρεσκον*, where *ἔτι* evidently refers to the time before his conversion.

How much force Mr Jowett attributes to a third expression cited by him is not clear. His words are, 'It is remarkable also that long afterwards, in writing to the Philippians he should have described this very time, the time, that is, of his writing the Epistle to the Thessalonians, though more than fourteen years after his conversion, as the beginning of the Gospel, iv. 3.' If this implies that St Paul considered what he had taught for thirteen or fourteen years to be no Gospel at all, or only the Gospel in a rudimentary form, it would have been as well to state this plainly. If so stated, I think it would strike but few minds as a probable explanation.

But Mr Stanley should have seen to this himself. It is impossible not to contrast this neglect with the scrupulous exactness with which the late Archdeacon Hare revised his works for the press, described apparently by an eye-witness¹, as an "elaborate minuteness which to the bystanders was almost wearisome to behold," and to ask whether a little such labour would not have been well expended on these volumes.

Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
Consistit sumptus?

No one can afford to dispense with the brooms and sawdust of criticism—'neglectis flagitium ingens,'—at least so thought Hare, and perhaps he was right.

If this review of Mr Stanley's critical defects has already occupied more space than the subject might seem to demand, my apology must be, that it was impossible to make a grave charge without sustaining it by examples; and, that some protest was necessary few will probably deny, who have seen the laudatory notices bestowed on Mr Stanley's scholarship in more quarters than one. When at length a writer in an important and influential review², not content with praising the book for the merits which it really possesses, goes out of his way to recommend it as 'not inferior in careful execution of the exegetical portion to the best German commentaries,' it becomes necessary to speak out on behalf of English scholarship, no less than of common truth and honesty, however disagreeable the task may be.

Of Mr Stanley himself it is impossible not to speak with respect. When we consider how much we owe to his previous literary labours, it would be ungenerous and ungrateful to condemn him for a mere error of judgment in mistaking his strength in a single instance. There are not a few, probably, who are able to trace a distinct stage of their intellectual and spiritual growth to the influence of the 'Life of Dr Arnold.' The 'Sermons on the Apostolical Age,' if they have no great claim to originality, are still full of noble sentiments nobly expressed. The 'Memorials of Canterbury' present a vivid and faithful picture of past times, such as few living writers could equal. Of 'Sinai and Palestine' it would be premature to speak confidently,

¹ Quarterly Review. No. cxiii. p.
9.

² Quarterly Review. No. cxv. p.
151, note.

ability and well-earned reputation of their advocate, no less than the distinguished position he now holds, may dispose some to assign to them more than their due weight.

It will be observed that Mr Jowett's principles of interpretation *multiply* the uncertainty of ascertaining the sense of a sacred author. It is the uncertainty compounded of the allowance to be made for the supposed arbitrariness of a language in its decline, and the imperfect knowledge of the writer who employs it¹. It will be necessary to consider these two positions separately.

With regard to the charge of vagueness brought against the Greek language of this period, Mr Jowett seems to start from a position fundamentally wrong. He proceeds, if I mistake not, on the ground that the degeneracy of a language almost necessarily involves its indefiniteness. But what reason have we, either from *a priori* considerations or from actual observation, for concluding so? I would wish to speak with some reserve, because confidence on such a question can only be founded on a larger induction of facts than I am master of; but the case seems to be as follows. A language after it has passed the turning point of its life, displays its tendency to decay by the want of flexibility in its syntax, and by the loss of the power of evolving new words and forms of words. Old forms, old syntactic constructions are lopped off, and the tree has no sap to enable it to put forth new branches in the place of those that have fallen away. It loses expression; it becomes more meagre, but not more vague. Nay, on the contrary, it would seem that there is in many cases a tendency to greater definiteness. The grammar and vocabulary become subjects of discussion. Rules are framed,

¹ Note on 1 Thess. iv. 7. 'The appearance of antithesis arises, partly from the love of variety natural to all language, partly from an awkwardness in the use of language, in a late and rhetorical age, by a writer who was imperfectly master of it.' Again on 1 Thess. v. 27 Mr J. asks, 'Why does St Paul use such vehemence of language?... is it that he is not complete master of his words?'

Even Mr Stanley (on 2 Cor. vi. 14—16) says, 'The multiplication of syno-

nymes implies a greater copiousness of Greek than we should expect from the Apostle's usual language.' The whole of the second Epistle seems to me to be a refutation of the charge implied here. Take, for instance, the climax 2 Cor. vii. 11, *σπουδήν, ἀπολογίαν, ἀγανάκτησιν, φόβον, ἐπιπόθησιν, ζήλον, ἐκδικήσιν*. It is only just to Mr Stanley however to say that he seldom holds such language. With Mr Jowett it is much more common.

Principles of composition are laid down. Thus the value of words and expressions is stereotyped. On this however it would be unwise to insist strongly, as many incidental and local causes may tend to counteract this influence.

Nor, when we come to the Greek language in particular, can we discover any special forces at work sufficient to reverse this general law. It would be unwarrantable indeed to assert that here and there local influences did not corrupt it, or that it was equally pure, wherever spoken. Still generally the wide diffusion of Greek, as a medium of communication, was no insufficient guarantee for its integrity. The deep-rooted and far-spread knowledge of this language throughout the civilised world at the time of the Christian æra and subsequently is probably without a parallel. Neither the diffusion of Latin in the middle ages nor that of French in our own day will bear any comparison with it. The Greeks were the recognised masters of civilisation; their colonies were spread far and wide: they were a most important item in the population of all the large cities, especially of the capital. The most intelligent, though not always the most honest, portion of the humbler population of Rome was Greek. Their language was the language of art and literature, no less than of commerce¹. Considering the increased facilities of intercourse, we are not surprised to find greater uniformity in the later language, than it exhibits in the classical period. The Greek spoken at Rome bore a much closer resemblance to that of Antioch or Alexandria, than had existed in an earlier age between the dialect of Athens, and those of Thebes or Sparta.

It is probable that the general impression of the vagueness and arbitrary character of the Hellenistic Greek, which Mr Jowett has sanctioned, is to be traced, in great measure, to the practice of referring it to the standard of the Attic Greek of the fourth or fifth century before the Christian æra: of referring it, that is, to the usages of a particular period and dialect, rather than to the general principles of the language. Yet this practice is obviously unfair. No one thinks of judging the

¹ Bunsen says of Hippolytus, 'He wrote in Greek, but not merely as our fathers wrote in Latin, as the medium of learned intercourse. Greek was at Rome the living organ of international

intercourse.' *Hippol.* I. p. 496 (2nd ed.) On the Greek character of the Christian church at Rome, see Milman, *Latin Christ.* I. p. 28 sqq.

language of Homer by the standard of Archilochus or of Solon, or of requiring the latter to conform to the usages of Plato or Xenophon. If this were done, we should find numberless exceptions to our preconceived rules. We should leave the study of Homer especially—impressed with the idea that he was a most incorrect and arbitrary writer. The landmarks of a language are always changing. At any two periods widely separated in point of time the difference will be appreciable. Yet the change is so gradual, and there is so much of stability at any one given epoch, that we may consider it for that epoch as fixed and definite. Let us only endeavour to explain the later language by itself, and we shall probably find it as little arbitrary and as much amenable to law, as it was in its earlier stage.

Indeed when we come to compare the language of the New Testament writers with that of the age and country of Pericles, our surprise is rather that it should have undergone so small a change, and that the earlier dialect should throw so much light on the later. The general structure of the language is the same. Even in particular usages there is seldom any variation. Moods and tenses¹ are employed with the same shades of meaning. Particles occur in the same combinations and with the same force. Sentences are attached together by the same connecting links. Exceptional usages there undoubtedly are, but these are neither many, nor, except in a few instances, important².

¹ The strict classical meaning of the tenses is, I believe, always preserved in the New Testament. A handful of passages which appear at first sight to be exceptions, have been considered in a former note (p. 96), but even if the explanations there given be deemed unsatisfactory, they will still sustain no charge against the New Testament language. No one accuses Thucydides with misuse or ignorance of the force of tenses on account of the difficulty of explaining the perfect in iii. 18, *φρούρια ἔστω ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν ἐγκαταφικοδόμηται*. Critics despair of the text; perhaps it may be justified if we suppose that the forts were found there by the Athenians and were still standing when Thucydides wrote, so that *ἐγκαταφικ.* =

ἔστηκε. *φκῆται* and *ἐκτίσται* are frequently so used, but the nearest parallel that I can find to Thucydides is in St Luke iv. 29. *ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις φκοδόμητο αὐτῶν*, 'had been built,' i.e. stood.

² The most striking deviation from classical usage, that occurs to me, is the New Testament use of *μὴ* with a participle, which has a much wider range than in the earlier language. Yet this is no violation of principle, but rather an extension of a particular mode of looking at the subordinate event contained in the participial clause. It is viewed as an accident or condition of the principal event described by the finite verb, and is therefore negatived by the dependent negative *μὴ* and not by the absolute *οὐ*. Rom. iv. 19, *καὶ*

But supposing it to be granted that there is no sufficient reason generally for imputing a want of precision to Greek in this later stage, still, it may be urged, ought not some allowance to be made for the imperfect knowledge which St Paul may have possessed of it? Before examining his language in itself, can we draw any inference from his antecedents as to the probable extent of his knowledge? What do we know of his birth, his education, his life, bearing on this question? These *a priori* considerations are of some value in this case at least, because they depend on a few simple facts, and the clearness of our judgment is less likely to be clouded over by a complication of details, than in a subsequent inquiry into his language as we find it.

St Paul was born in a city, thronged indeed with a mixed population, but in which Greek was the general medium of communication—a city, too, second not even to Athens or Alexandria for its schools of literature and philosophy. He was

μή ἀσθενέας τῇ πίστει [οὐ] κατενόησεν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἥδη νεκρωμένον, is a case in point, whether we retain οὐ or omit it with Lachm. In the latter case the sense will be, 'he so considered his own body now dead, as not to be weak in the faith.' Yet Mr Jowett takes μή with κατενόησεν, and translates, 'he considered not as being weak in faith his own body now dead,' which would be οὐ κατενόησεν. Mr Jowett seems to hold some heresy with regard to μή. There can surely be no authority for his interpretation of Gal. v. 13: "Τμεῖς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε . . . μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. 'The best way of explaining the construction is to take τὴν ἐλευθερίαν as an accus. in apposition with the previous sentence: = that calling unto liberty.' Not to mention any other objection we should expect οὐ in place of μή. The E. V. is right, 'only use not (your) liberty,' and this is an example of St Paul's ellipses mentioned in a former note (p. 85). On a third passage, Rom. iii. 3, μή ἢ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ κατα-

γῆσαι; μή γένοιτο, Mr Jowett remarks 'μή is used in the New Testament indifferently in questions intended to have either an affirmative or negative answer (Luke vi. 39, John viii. 12). That in this passage the answer would have been affirmative follows from μή γένοιτο in the next verse, which deprecates the intended assent.' Strangely enough in the two passages referred to in support of this view the sense clearly shews that a negative answer is required. The passage from Romans also is strictly in accordance with classical usage; but Mr Jowett has made a difficulty by confusing the 'answer intended' (a sufficiently ambiguous phrase in itself) and 'the answer which would have been given.' Μὴ interrogative is only used when the questioner considers that the question ought to have a negative answer, i.e. when the person questioned would, if a rational man, return a negative answer. The answer that he expects to have is quite an ulterior matter. The New Testament usage will be found in this particular neither wider nor narrower than that of classical Greek.

taken, perhaps early in life, to Jerusalem; yet even here he must have been almost daily thrown among people with whom he had no other language but the Greek in common. He was placed under a teacher who was honourably distinguished above his contemporaries for the attention he paid to Greek literature. After his conversion, he travelled about year after year among nations with whom he could hold no communication except in Greek. The communication he *did* hold was of the most trying and varied character—by letter, by conversation, by prayer, by preaching. Those friends, with whom he lived on terms of the closest intimacy—Barnabas, Luke, Sylvanus, Timotheus, Apollos, Titus, Tychicus, Trophimus, and many others—must all of them have spoken Greek with fluency, and few out of the whole number can have been able to converse with him in any other language. With every inducement, and, we may be sure, every wish to perfect himself in his knowledge of Greek, he must indeed have had a singular intellectual incapacity if these large opportunities were thrown away upon him. This is not quite impossible, but is it at all probable with one endowed at once with so much patience and so much energy?

It is probably no exaggeration to say, that during the last twenty years of St Paul's life, for every Hebrew or Aramaic word he spoke or wrote, he must have spoken or written forty or fifty Greek words. If he did not know Greek then, what language did he know? Certainly no other—neither the provincial dialect of Cilicia, nor the Aramaic, nor the old Hebrew, nor Latin—has an equal claim to be considered his familiar tongue. External evidence seems to leave only the alternative of Greek or nothing.

Nor does the examination of St Paul's language greatly disappoint expectations formed on these external grounds. There is indeed at times a strong dash of Hebraism, especially in passages where the subject is peculiarly Hebrew in character. There is occasionally, too, a Hebrew phrase translated into the corresponding Greek. But generally speaking, what has been said above of the Greek language at this epoch is strictly applicable to that of St Paul. It would be impossible to enter into details here. The best test of the truth of the principle here maintained is the success of its application to the interpretation of St Paul. We need not be afraid of applying to it the

touchstone of Aristotle and of common sense, and trying its correctness by its consequences. I venture to believe that the strict grammatical method, as adopted for instance by Meyer, will commend itself to most minds by its consistency and the satisfactoriness of its results with a force, which a more lax and arbitrary criticism can never command.

In one sense indeed St Paul is most ungrammatical, but only in the same sense in which the charge may be brought home to Thucydides. It is a defect, if it be not rather an excellence, which arises from a remarkable energy of mind and strength of feeling. 'There is,' in Mr Stanley's words (Pref. p. iv), 'a disproportion between the thought and language, the thought straining the language till it cracks in the process—a shipwreck of grammar and logic, as sentences are whirled through the author's mind—a growth of words and thoughts out of and into each other, often to the utter entanglement of the argument, which is framed out of them.' If by 'logic' here be meant logical arrangement, as distinguished from logical conception, this account of Mr Stanley's is, I believe, as strictly true, as it is forcibly expressed. All this, however, does not affect St Paul's knowledge of Greek; and there seems to be no ground for charging him either with ignorance of the temper of his weapon, or with want of dexterity in wielding it.

It was impossible that Prof. Jowett's views of the language of St Paul should not to a great extent vitiate the character of his commentary. And in spite of the honourable inconsistencies, before alluded to, we find this to be the case. We are told, for instance, that one word is used for another, as *διὰ* for *ἐν* (1 Thess. iv. 14) and *ἐν* for *τις* (Rom. ix. 10)¹, that prepositions are

¹ On the first of these passages, *οὐτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἔχει σὺν αὐτοῖς*, Mr Jowett says that 'the order will not allow us to connect the words *διὰ τ.* 'I. with *ἔχει*.' It seems to me that the order is rather in favour of the connexion; but this is a matter for the ear to decide. *Judicent peritiores*. At all events the order is not so clear as to justify Mr Jowett in his assumption.

On the second, *ἐξ ἐνὸς κοίτης ἔχουσα*

Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, we read, '*ἐκ* here unemphatically for *τις*. To make a contrast between the one husband of Rebecca and the two wives of Abraham is ridiculous.' Mr Jowett is here setting up a man of straw in order to knock him down. St Paul dwells on the fact that they were both sons of the same father, and therefore had the same hereditary claim—that the election of the one rather than the other may appear in a more striking light.

employed in a wrong sense (Gal. iv. 13)¹, that the meanings of words are not to be scanned too nicely (Rom. viii. 38, xi. 15). We find perfect tenses treated as aorists (e. g. 1 Thess. ii. 1), and *μή* taken for *οὐ*. (See note 2, p. 106). The Apostle is accused of a want of point (Gal. ii. 5, iii. 19, Rom. xii. 11), of being led by sound rather than sense (Gal. vi. 10), of using rhetorical antitheses.

This last charge is repeated again and again in various forms. Sometimes it merely amounts to an assertion, that St Paul was fond of viewing the gospel truths in the light of antitheses, in which case it seems to be not only harmless but even true. In other cases it is preferred so broadly that it is equivalent to charging the Apostle with using a species of rhetoric which is at once meaningless and suicidal. We can easily conceive a kind of antithesis which deludes both the writer and the reader into the belief that the two antithetical clauses have some difference in meaning, and that they appeal to the mind as well as the ear. But when the whole stress of the antithesis is laid on a single word, as for instance in Rom. iii. 30², and when the opposition is brought out with singular force, we shall perhaps be more disposed to suspend judgment, in case we cannot satisfy ourselves as to its exact significance, than assume that it has no meaning at all. It would be little less than idiocy to venture on an antithesis of this kind, where the only possible result would be to shew the poverty of the writer's thoughts and the hollowness of his language.

To the same misconception probably is to be traced the tendency, which we find in Mr Jowett's commentary, to reject a simple and obvious interpretation of a passage in favour of one, which calls in the aid of confused constructions, or double meanings of words, or anacolutha, and, at the cost of much ingenuity, produces after all only an obscure and unsatisfactory

¹ δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισά-
μεν ὑμῖν. 'The supposition that St Paul
was obliged, owing to some bodily weak-
ness, to stay longer with the Galatians
than he intended, neither appears so
irreconcilable with the context, nor so
antecedently improbable as to justify a
departure from the correct translation.
The real difficulty . . is not to be ascribed

to the language, but to our ignorance
of the circumstances.' Ellicott, in loc.
And such is the language of Meyer
also.

² περιτομήν ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἀκρο-
βυστίας διὰ τῆς πίστεως. See also
Mr Jowett's notes on 1 Thess. iv. 7, Gal.
i. 1, 6, Rom. i. 32, viii. 10, x. 10, re-
garding St Paul's antitheses.

[illegible]

FILE - JUNE

3 ed. *from* file, when a member.
Either which saying was a saying
else but certain members saying a
pervert the Gospel of Jesus or which
Gospel is not another far more
be two Gospels, but may mean mem-
bers of the Church.

The last is the more promising explanation. It seems to have arisen, however, from a confusion of the former. What the Apostle meant is not what 'which change of mind, or even Gospel, is nothing else than the work of certain teachers'—I am sure that I read of rapaciousness here. But the similarity of meaning in *false* and *freewill* caught his mind in the act of forming the sentence, and led him to give a new sense to *Alia*, which occasioned the further alteration of *freewill* to *Alia*. An additional confusion has arisen from the uncertainty whether it is to be referred to *freewill* *clergyman*, or to *clergyman* only. Comp. for a similar variation, without difference of meaning, in *false* and *freewill*, 2 Cor. xi. 4.

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[illegible]

This note of Meyer's is not selected on account of any transcendent merit, but merely because it seems to treat the passage in a plain and intelligible manner.

¹ It is difficult to discriminate in all cases between *ἄλλος* and *ἕτερος*, and Meyer's language in the note here cited is not altogether unobjectionable, though in the main his distinction is correct. The primary difference seems to be this: *ἄλλος* is another as not the same, *ἕτερος* another as one of two. The sense of

εἴς is most clearly marked in its compounds, as *εἰςοπίστανος*, 'one-eyed.' When our attention is confined to two objects, we naturally compare and contrast them; hence *εἴς* gets to signify 'unlike, opposite,' and we have such phrases as *εἴς ὁλόω*. Thus while *ὅλος* is generally confined to the

Mr Ellicott complains 'That the synonyms of the Greek Testament, a most important subject, have been greatly neglected,' (Pref. to Gal. p. xii.) Of Prof. Jowett, on the other hand, it was not to be expected, that with his views of St Paul's language, he would pay much attention to this branch of Biblical exegesis, and we can only regard him as acting in perfect consistence with his principles of interpretation in dismissing attempts at nice discrimination between words as so much lost labour—*ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα χαρίεντα ἡγοῦμαι λίαν δὲ δεινὸν καὶ ἐπιστάσαν καὶ σὺ πάντων ἐνταυροῦς ἀνδρῶς*, as he might say with Socrates. Perhaps the plea for synonymes, as against Mr Jowett, may be placed with advantage in the following light.

There is a hexameter line in St James (i. 17) running, *πάντες δόσεις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον*, which is translated in our version, 'Every good gift and every perfect gift.' Now, I have no authority for extending Mr Jowett's principles of interpretation in all their length and breadth to St James. Indeed, the case is slightly different. The Greek of St James is considered 'better' than that of St Paul; and this circumstance has been used to invalidate the authenticity of the Epistle, though rightly considered it is only another evidence of a fact sufficiently established on independent grounds, the wide diffusion of the Greek language. Still, I think, there would be nothing extravagant in presuming that a disciple of Mr Jowett would not have greatly quarrelled with the English version, and that any attempt to discriminate between *δόσεις* and *δῶρημα* would have been gently but firmly put aside by him—*ἄτε μουσικὸς ὧν πρῶτερον*—as a piece of misplaced subtlety. It would probably have been considered a sufficient explanation of the passage to dismiss it as a mere

negation of identity, *ἕτερος* sometimes implies the negation of resemblance. This seems to be the case in this passage in Galatians, and also in 1 Cor. i. c. *ἄλλων Ἰησοῦν . . . πνεῦμα ἕτερον . . . εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον*, where, though *ἄλλος* might have been substituted for *ἕτερος* and *vice versa*, without destroying the sense of the passage, still the words are more appropriate in their present position; the *personality* is the prominent feature in *Ἰησοῦν* (it is not *Χριστόν*), the *ethical character* in

πνεῦμα and *εὐαγγέλιον*: the identity of the former is best negated by *ἄλλος*, the resemblance of the latter by *ἕτερος*.

¹ It should be remembered that mere grammatical correctness is no measure of the comparative acquaintance of two writers with a language. If it were so, Muretus might be said to know Latin better than Tertullian, though in command over the language the Italian rhetorician will bear no comparison with the African father.

‘rhetorical antithesis,’ and it is no accident that the question would have arisen. The answer, however, is obvious: why the word should have been changed. It is not so much that if we were to say it again, “I am your father and every perfect gift.” With this expression, a man is not satisfied until his attention has been drawn to the fact. He would there find a distinction between him, as on the one hand, and his son, as on the other, which might seem to be his opinion. In one passage Philo says: “The word of God is perfect, and it is perfect in itself, and it is perfect in its effect.” (Cherub. § 25, M. 124). The second passage is even more remarkable: “The word of God is perfect, and it is perfect in its effect, and it is perfect in its effect, and it is perfect in its effect.” (Cherub. § 25, M. 124). The whole idea is a continuation of the same insisting strongly on the distinction of God and his creatures from that of his, making the latter a something more perfect and more excellent of which perfection has been made by predication. He would remark that it is, indeed, while God is only called good, the entire perfect is implied in God: and the word, at length, in all pronouncing, he declares it to be God, and to show that the same distinction was present in the mind of the Father, which Philo has strongly insisted upon: and that he traces it all advance upon itself, as it comes upon God. Perhaps it would be taxing his justice too much to say that he is not a step farther, and regarding the issue of the determination as in dispute, continuing with him as significant a continuation of result.

But however the imaginary *similarity* might exist with St James, the master's language regarding Is Paul is plain. (1st Tim. xii. 2 and 3) *ἐνδεδουλωμένοι τῷ κόσμῳ*, that is, *transformed* by him. Now, Mr JAMES remarks, "No more reason can be given why the Apostle should have changed the word, than if we were to say, "and not to be conformed to this world, but to be transformed by the renewal of your minds." Perhaps it might be urged in reply that 'transformed' is distinguished in English from 'conformed,' as being almost universally applied to the external visible appearance. But this will not assist us to discriminate *οὔτως* and *οὕτως*. I can lay no claim to having discovered the distinction which I am going to give. Indeed, it was

held more or less definitely by the Greek fathers¹. But as it is important, and has not received the attention it deserves from modern critics, I may perhaps be excused for dwelling upon it.

When σχῆμα occurs in the New Testament, it signifies that which is 'external,' 'changeable,' 'fleeting.' The 'fashion of this world' is, τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (1 Cor. vii. 31). 'To fall in with the fashion of the world' is, συσχηματίζεσθαι τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ (Rom. i. c.). 'To follow the capricious guidance of our passions' is, συσχηματίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις (1 Pet. i. 14). Thus much seems to be clear. The sense of μορφή is not so obvious, and is to be traced chiefly from the passages in which it is contrasted with σχῆμα. The most important of these is Phil. ii. 6, 7, *ὅτι ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων... ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών... ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος*. In the first of these clauses, I think, all will allow that ἐν σχήματι θεοῦ would be inappropriate. In the second, the word ἐκένωσεν implies the assumption of a completely new nature. In the third, εὑρεθείς points to the appearance presented to the world. These considerations seem to shew that μορφή is contrasted with σχῆμα as that which is 'intrinsic' and 'essential' with that which is 'outward' and 'accidental.' The three clauses denote respectively the true divine nature of our Lord (*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*), His true human nature (*μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*), the externals of His human nature (*σχήματι εὑρεθείς*). To the divine nature, μορφή alone is applicable, and of this σχῆμα would be out of place. The human nature has two aspects: it may be viewed either in itself, or in its outward fashion: the one is μορφή, the other σχῆμα. The same distinction is marked in the passage from the Romans, out of which this discussion has arisen. *μὴ συσχηματίζεσθαι κ.τ.λ.*, 'Follow not the fleeting *fashion* of this world, but undergo a complete change (assume a new *form*, become new beings) in the renewal of your mind.' In short μορφή is used by

¹ The following extracts (taken directly from Suicer) shew that the senses assigned in the text to μορφή, σχῆμα, μὲρφωσις were recognised by the Greek commentators.

Chrysost. Hom. 2 ad Heb. p. 437. *ὥσπερ ἡ μορφή τοῦ δούλου οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐμφαίνει, ἢ ἄνθρωπον ἀπαράλλακτον οὕτως ἡ μορφή τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐμφαίνει ἢ θεόν*. So Theophyl. on Phil. ii. 6,

p. 591, *μορφή θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία λέγεται*. So also Theodoret, and others.

Chrys. Hom. viii. on Tim. iii. 5. *μὲρφωσιν, ἀψυχῶν καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ σχῆμα μόνον καὶ τύπον καὶ ὑπόκρισιν δηλοῦν*. Hesych. and Suidas too explain μὲρφωσιν by σχῆμα.

See Suicer s. νν. μορφή, μὲρφωσις, σχῆμα; and the passages cited by Fritzsche on Rom. xii. 2.

St Paul in a sense, for which we are prepared by the position it occupies in connexion with *εἰς* in the vocabulary of Greek philosophy¹. Thus, that complete change which is elsewhere spoken of as 'putting on Christ' or becoming one with Christ is designated by the word *μεταμορφωθῆναι* (2 Cor. ii. 14. *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεταμορφούμεθα*. Cf. Gal. iv. 19. *ὅπως ὁ μένους ἔσται ὡς ἐγὼ*. Phil. iii. 10, *ὡμοιωθῆναι τοῖς θάνατον αὐτοῦ*). Those who have followed this distinction of *αὐτὸς* and *ὅμοιος* indirectly not unfavourably, will probably see only a confirmation of it in another passage of St Paul Phil. ii. 17. *μεταμορφωθῆναι ὡς εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. This will alter the changing fashion of our *τὴν* body, so that it assume the abiding form of His glorious body. The *εἰς* *δοξάν* shall become a *εἰς* *σώματος*. They will at least remember that where the change is merely outward, fictitious, illusory, the word employed by St Paul, and thrice repeated, is *τὸ* *μεταμορφωθῆναι* but *μετασχηματίζεσθαι*, 2 Cor. xi. 13, *ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς μετασχηματίζομεν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἐν ἁγίοις, κ.τ.λ.* They will observe also that in 1 vs passages where St Paul does speak of that which is *μυστήριον* or at least external, and does not employ *ὅμοιος*, he still avoids using *αὐτὸς* as inappropriate, and adopts *μόρφωσις* instead Rom. ii. 7, *τοῖς μόνον τοῖς ἡσυχίοις*, 2 Tim. iii. 5, *μυστήριον εὐαγγελίου*, where the termination *-ουσι* denotes 'the aiming after or affecting the *μορφή*.' Had the word *μορφή* occurred in either of these passages, it would have gone a great way towards destroying the distinction I have given. These, as far as I know, are the only passages in which *ὅμοιος* or *μορφή*, or their derivatives, are found in the Epistles, with the exception of 1 Cor. iv. 6, *μετασχηματίζομεν ἑαυτοὺς*, which is rather a confirmation than otherwise of what has been said. In the Gospels there is only an approximation to this sense of *μορφή*; *μεταμορφωθῆναι* is used of the transfiguration (Matth. xvii. 2, Mark ix. 2), and we have *ὡς ἐπέβη μορφή* of the appearance of our Lord to the disciples after the resurrection (Mark xvi. 12). In these cases, *μορφή* refers indeed to that which is visible and external, but still definite and complete. There is nothing illusive in it².

¹ See the note on *μορφή* at the end of this review, p. 121.

² Since drawing out the distinction given in the text, I have seen Fritzsche's

note on Rom. xii. 2. I see no reason however to modify any of my conclusions. His language seems stronger than his arguments.

Before leaving the subject of synonymes, I cannot forbear in regard to Mr Stanley's opinion, that there is no essential difference between *οἶδα* and *γινώσκω*, (see 1 Cor. ii. 11), expressing a belief that an examination of the passages where these two words are found in the First Epistle of St John, shews most clearly that they were still used with the same precision of meaning as in the classical age. While *οἶδα* is simple and absolute, *γινώσκω* is relative, involving more or less the idea of a process of examination. Thus while *οἶδα* is 'I know' and is used of the knowledge of facts and propositions in themselves, *γινώσκω*, 'I recognise,' implies reference to something else, and gives prominence to either *the attainment of the knowledge, or the knowledge of a thing in its bearings*. It surely cannot be by chance, that where St John wishes to place in bold relief the fundamental facts of our religious conviction in and by themselves, he uses *οἶδα*¹; (see ii. 20, 21, iii. 2, 5, 14, 15, and especially v. 18, 19, 20); that where he speaks of our knowledge not as direct, but as derived from something prior to it, he almost always employs *γινώσκω*, both in the phrase *ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκειν*, which occurs repeatedly (ii. 3, 5; iii. 19, 24; iv. 2, 13; v. 2. Cf. iii. 16, *ἐν τούτῳ ἐγνώκαμεν*; not once *ἐν τούτῳ εἰδέναι*), and in other expressions, (ii. 18, *ὅθεν γινώσκομεν*; iii. 1, *οὐ γινώσκει ἡμᾶς ὅτι*; iv. 6, *ἐκ τούτου γινώσκομεν*, cf. iv. 7, 8); and that when the two words *γινώσκειν* and *εἰδέναι* are found together, they stand to each other in the relation, which the distinction given above would lead us to expect (ii. 29, *ἐὰν εἰδῇτε ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν, γινώσκετε ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται*; cf. Ephes. v. 5, (v. l.) *ἵστε γινώσκοντες*, John xxi. 17). If there are other passages in which the difference of meaning is not so plain, the induction seems still to be sufficiently large to establish the fact.

I have already trespassed far more on the patience of the readers of this Journal, than I had intended at the outset, without having made more than a passing allusion to the most

¹ Sometimes *οἶδα* may have more force, as it is occasionally more emphatic to state a thing in its simplest form, as in the passages in St John cited in the text. At other times *γινώσκω* will be stronger, as it dwells on the process, and so involves a notion of 'thoroughness' 'familiarity;' on this sense of *γι-*

νώσκω the Greek commentators especially dwell. (See Suicer s. v.)

Acts xxi. 37, *Ἑλληνιστὶ γινώσκεις*; is wrongly translated in the E. V. 'Canst thou speak Greek?' It is rather 'dost thou understand Greek?' Cf. Xenoph. Anab. vii. 6. 8. *ξυνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλείεστα*.

valuable portion of Mr Jowett's work. Even if time had sufficed to note down such stray thoughts as the essays suggested, I should still have felt quite incapable of doing justice to their interest and importance. As it is, I must content myself with a few words, *ἵνα ἀποσιωσθῶμαι*.

Those who look only for positive results will be greatly disappointed with Mr Jowett's Essays. For such not a few of Plato's noblest dialogues could have no attraction. On the other hand, those who are satisfied with being made to think instead of being thought for, and are willing to follow out for themselves important lines of reflexion, when suggested to them, will find no lack of interest or instruction in these volumes. Prof. Jowett is singularly happy in stating a problem for solution. He seizes on the salient points of a question with great clearness; he places the difficulties before his readers in such a manner that they cannot choose but attempt an explanation. Hume owes his importance in the history of Modern Philosophy not so much to what he has himself done as what he has made others do. Mr Jowett has little else in common with Hume, but he resembles him in the fearlessness with which he pushes a theory to its legitimate conclusion and in his pointed manner of stating a problem, which leaves a sting behind in the minds of his readers. The value of Mr Jowett's labours is far from consisting solely in the definite results attained, which are fewer than might have been looked for. Indeed the perusal of one of these essays often leaves the reader strongly impressed with the contrast between the perfect order and excellence of the machinery, and the comparative littleness of the work produced. We constantly find ourselves left in the lurch just when we were expecting to get at some positive solution of our difficulty. The reconstructive process in many of these essays bears no proportion to the destructive. But after every abatement which has to be made on this score, these volumes will still hold their position in the foremost ranks of recent literature for depth and range of thought.

Mr Jowett's forte is mental philosophy. How has this or that metaphysical question presented itself to different minds, or to the same mind at different times? Under what contradictory aspects may a particular religious sentiment or moral truth be viewed? What phenomena does an individual mind exhibit at different stages in its growth? What contrasts do we find in the

ancient and modern world of thought? This is the class of questions Mr Jowett delights to ask and to answer. He is strongly negative. He is fond of dwelling on contradictions rather than resemblances. He is content with stating a difficulty without attempting a solution of it.

To these negative tendencies are to be traced in great measure, two of the least agreeable features of Mr Jowett's work. *First*, the habit of viewing great questions in their contradictory aspects without attempting to reconcile them, and of finding difficulties without solving them, is not unnaturally attributed by the reader to a despair of attaining or even approximating to objective truth. It seems to resolve the right and the wrong in any subject under discussion, into different phases in which an object presents itself to different minds. Doubtless Mr Jowett would be the first to repudiate this view; but he can scarcely feel aggrieved if his readers carry away an impression which he has taken so little pains to guard against. *Secondly*, the tone of these volumes is unhistorical. The historian strives to detect hidden resemblances: he traces the thread of connexion between different ages, and shews how the days of the world's history are 'bound each to each by natural piety.' Mr Jowett takes the opposite course. He seeks out the contrasts in different nations and ages. He violently dissevers one epoch from another, and seems to deny 'that the child is father to the man.' 'It is useless for us to attempt to think as they thought,' is the constant tenor of his language. 'Old things are passed away. We move in quite a different sphere from these men. We may anatomise their life, but we cannot live it. We must be content with that cold soul-less conception of their modes of thought and feeling, which is all that the spectator *ab extra* can attain to.' At times he even speaks as though the logical, historical, scientific faculties were an entire blank in the early Christian mind. Some protest indeed may have been necessary against the common fault of making no allowance for the difference in the modes of thought and principles of action in different ages and countries; but still one cannot help feeling that Prof. Jowett is at least as wide of the mark on the one side, as popular views are on the other, and that the plain blunt saying, which Thucydides has put into the mouth of Archidamus, is even more true of nations and epochs than of individuals—πολὸν διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου.

The longest, though not the most able or original, of Mr Jowett's Essays is that on 'St Paul and Philo.' As this is the most accessible source of information on the subject in the English language, and will derive importance from the fact that it is to be lamented that Prof. Jowett has chosen Gfrörer for his elephant, or at least, that he has trusted himself almost solely to his guidance.

Mr Macaulay speaks somewhere of certain versemongers as the 'turkey-carpet' school of poets. There is also a 'turkey-carpet' school of critics, of which Gfrörer is one of the most distinguished disciples. It is a school which embraces a large number of adherents of the most opposite religious opinions. It has this singular advantage, that it can make anything out of nothing. The victims of its criticism are manifold. One practises on the early Fathers, another dissects the writers of the Reformation period, a third tries his hand on the Jewish doctors. The mode of procedure is this. Passages are disengaged from their original connexion, where they blend and harmonise with the context without striking the eye, and collected together. Thus large masses of the same colour are united and produce the most gorgeous and dazzling effects. By this means Gfrörer was enabled to boast, that he could find a parallel to every doctrine in the New Testament from the Rabbinical writings¹. This unfair treatment of course did not escape Mr Jowett, though he has perhaps understated it (i. p. 369), and he has consequently avoided Gfrörer's extravagances, and given a much more faithful picture of Philo than his master. Still it is to be regretted that he did not more frequently consult other authorities. The few pages which Dorner has devoted to the question of the Logos, seem to me, I know not with what truth, to be of more value than whole chapters of Gfrörer. Mr Jowett would have deserved our deepest gratitude, if he had undertaken a thorough and independent examination of this subject². In England, owing to

¹ See Dorner's *Lehre von der Person Christi*, note p. 3.

² An important oversight of Mr Jowett's vitiates his account of Philo's canon. He says 'neither Samuel, David, Solomon, nor Job, nor indeed any one later than Joshua, is mentioned [by Philo] by name,' (i. p. 375). This is

quite incorrect. The error in the case of Samuel is remarkable, for Philo speaks of him more than once, and at some length. (*De Ebr.* § 36, p. 379 M. *Quod Deus Immut.* §§ 2, 3, pp. 273, 4 M. *De Migr. Abr.* § 36, p. 467 M. *De Somn.* § 43, p. 658 M). In all of these passages the history of Samuel is refer-

the want of convenient and reliable sources of information, much erroneous opinion about Philo's doctrine prevails¹, and the German works devoted specially to this question, though elaborate and in many respects able, are capable of great improvement both in tone and in the handling of the subject.

I must now close, though I am fully conscious that these scanty remarks are far from doing justice to the importance of the Essays. It would cause me much regret if anything that has been said here, could fairly be construed into a want of respect for Prof. Jowett's ability and character. Misstatements of facts, and misconceptions of views have, I hope, been avoided: but as a check against any possible errors and misrepresentations, I would ask my readers to turn to the Essays themselves, where, if they find much to dispute, they will at least find much which will amply reward them for their pains. They will be more than

red to with the same deference as the books of Moses, and like these treated as a proper subject for allegory. In the first of them a reference to 1 Sam. i. 15 is introduced with the same expression which he constantly uses of the Pentateuch, *ὡς ὁ ἑρὸς λόγος φησὶν*. In short I can find no sufficient reason for supposing that he considered this book of less authority than the Pentateuch. At all events Mr Jowett's assertion that 'we cannot doubt that in the view of Philo the law was separated by a wide chasm from the rest of the Old Testament' will require some qualification. Neither is the statement true of Job. (Cf. De Mut. Nom. § 6, p. 585 M), nor yet of Solomon (Cf. Cong. Erud. Gr. § 31, p. 544 M). I have not been able to find the name of David, but the Psalms are frequently quoted. Of later names Jeremiah at least is mentioned, and that in a very remarkable manner, De Cherub. § 14, p. 147 M., a passage which ought not to have escaped Mr Jowett, inasmuch as Gfrörer lays great stress on it. (Phil. i. p. 67.)

Mr Jowett also writes: 'No other books [besides the Pentateuch] form the subject of any of his separate works.' There are two homilies of considerable

length, the one on the history of Samson, the other on the book of Jonah, discovered by Aucher in an Armenian version, and translated by him into Latin; the genuineness of these however is doubtful. See an Article by Dähne, Stud. u. Krit. 1833. H. 4. They are reprinted in Richter's ed. Vol. VII. pp. 351—407.

¹ Yet Mr Stanley ought not to have lent his countenance to the popular error of confusing the Logos of Philo with the Messiah, as he does, Vol. i. p. 188. 'For the traditional comparison of the Messiah to the rock, see Philo, Alleg. p. 82; Quod detur potiori, p. 212.' [The name of this tract is 'Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat']. It is the Logos or *σὸφία* in Philo, which the rock represents, not the Messiah. The two should be kept quite distinct. Even Mr Jowett's expression that 'the idea of the λόγος as the Messiah is but faintly indicated' seems too strong for the facts. The Messiah is only alluded to once or twice, and always in a feeble and confused manner; and the Christian conception of the 'Word made flesh and dwelling among us' does not seem to have been contemplated for a moment by Philo.

compensated for the trial to which I have put their patience in dragging them through so many wearisome pages, if they are induced to explore this deep mine of thought for themselves.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

Note on the connexion of μορφή with εἶδος in Greek Philosophy.

For the sense in which Parmenides used *μορφή*, see Karsten's *Parmen.* pp. 112, 113. For Plato's usage compare *Phæd.* 103 E. ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ἀξιούσθαι τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ὀνόματος εἰς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὃ ἐστὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐκείνου ἔχει δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μορφήν αἰὲν ὅταν περ ᾗ (with Wytttenbach's note) and 104 D. In Aristotle the word is much more common in this connexion with *εἶδος*, and in opposition to *ὕλη*. See e.g. *Phys.* ii. 1. p. 193 a (Bekk.). ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ἢ μορφή καὶ τὸ εἶδος, τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόγον. And the passages in Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil.* § 308. esp. *De Part. An.* I. 1. ἡ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν μορφήν φύσις κυριωτέρα τῆς ὑλικῆς φύσεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ χρώματι ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν τε ζῶων καὶ τῶν μορίων, ὁρθῶς ἂν Δημόκριτος λέγοι· φαίνεται γὰρ οὕτως ὑπολαβεῖν. φησὶ γοῦν παντὶ δῆλον εἶναι ὅλον τι τὴν μορφήν ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῷ τε σχήματι καὶ τῷ χρώματι γνωρίμων. καίτοι καὶ ὁ τεθνεὺς ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ σχήματος μορφήν, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ. (i. e. the corpse has the *μορφή* of the human *σχῆμα* or external conformation, but it has not the *μορφή* of a man), where the opposition of *μορφή* and *σχῆμα* well illustrates St Paul's use. With the Neoplatonists the word *μορφή* was even more important. See esp. Plotinus, *Enn.* I. vi. 52 A, cited by Wytttenbach (l.c.). Nor was this use of *μορφή* unknown to Philo. Cf. *de Vict. Off.* § 13, p. 261 M. τὸ γὰρ τεθλασμένον ἀφήρηται τὴν ποιότητα καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἢ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀμορφος ὕλη. And again,

ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὧν ἐκ τῆς οὐνομα αἱ ἰδέαι, κατεχρήσατο [ὁ θεὸς] πρὸς τὸ γένος ἕκαστον τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν λαβεῖν μορφήν. See also *Quis Rer. Div. H.* § 27. 492 M. and Dähne, I. p. 184 sqq.

There seems then to be a strong case for the sense assigned in the text to *μορφή*. For (1) Greek philosophers of various schools, both before and after the age of St Paul, used *μορφή*, in connexion with *εἶδος*, of that which is intrinsic and essential. (2) Even if we had no proof of it, there would be a strong probability that it was adopted into the vocabulary of the Jewish-Alexandrian School; and as a matter of fact, we find it in Philo. (3) Whether directly from Alexandria, or indirectly through other channels, there is at least no improbability in St Paul's being familiar with this use of the word. (4) This usage being not improbable in itself, we find that the passages where *μορφή* is found in St Paul gain much in point and expression by assigning this meaning. And (5) the Greek commentators, the natural exponents of the N. T. language, so explain it. The point to be observed here is, not simply that they give this explanation (for they would naturally avail themselves of so formidable a weapon against heretics), but that they speak of it confidently as a meaning which would command a ready assent. They even appeal at times to the concessions of their adversaries. See esp. Chrysostom in *Homilies VII. VIII.* (VI. VII.) on Philippians.

J. B. L.

*Adversaria.**Lucian the Martyr on the Locality of Calvary and the Sepulchre of our Lord.*

IN the discussions which have been carried on relative to the identity of the places known from the time of Constantine by the names of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, it seems to have been often assumed that we have no *proofs* that the spots were actually known to the Christians before the time of that Emperor. This *silence* has been relied on, and it has been coupled with the accounts of Eusebius, Ruffinus and others, of the *discovery* of the localities by Constantine or Helena, as though it afforded an answer to all that has been said, as to the probability that the memory of the places would not pass from the minds of Christians.

But there is a passage which, as far as I remember, was overlooked in the discussion of the subject by all the writers whom I consulted, when my attention was particularly directed, some twelve years ago, to the geography and topography of the Holy Land. This passage has also been neglected I think by the more recent writers on the subject that have come under my notice. It occurs in the answer of Lucian the Martyr before he suffered. After speaking of the sufferings and the resurrection of our Lord, he continues:—

‘Quæ autem dico, non sunt in obscuro gesta loco, nec testibus indigent. Pars pene mundi jam major huic veritati adstipulatur; urbes integræ: aut si in his aliquid suspectum videtur, contestatur de his etiam agrestis manus ignara figmenti. Si minus adhuc creditur, adhibebo vobis etiam LOCI IPSIUS, in quo res gesta est testimonium. Adstipulatur his ipse in Hierosolymis locus, et Golgothana rupes sub patibuli onere disrupta: antrum quoque illud, quod avulsis inferni januis corpus denuo reddidit animatum; quo purius inde ferretur ad cælum.’ Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 6, 7, e Ruffini Hist. Ecc. ix. 6.

The cogency of this passage must depend on its genuineness; as to which, however, there seems to be no reasonable ground of distrust. For though it might be said that this was probably an *embellishment* brought in by Ruffinus, yet on the other hand it

might be well argued that it *contradicts* Ruffinus's own opinions relative to the *discovery* of the places. Had the answer put into the mouth of Lucian proceeded from Ruffinus, it would have at least been in conformity with his own opinions.

The whole tone of this reply savours of the beginning and not the close of the fourth century: if it be Lucian's own, it is decisive, that before the rule of Constantine the Christians supposed that the localities of the suffering and burial of our Lord were *well* known. If, however, any should argue that the statement proceeds from some one subsequent to Lucian, though prior to Ruffinus, even then it would shew that it was the opinion of Christians, that the localities were known before any investigation on the part of Constantine.

At all events, those who discuss the subject should not omit to mention this passage, and to consider its bearing. I bring it forward now, simply as a piece of omitted evidence; for I am no partizan in the question, as I do not yet fully see whether there is a necessary conclusion to which the data ought to lead. In looking at the plan of Jerusalem it seems difficult to suppose that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could be outside the second wall; and yet this difficulty might tell the other way; for why should a seemingly unlikely place be fixed on unless it were supposed to be the true one? I have had, however, enough experience with regard to Roman localities, to make me mistrust a judgment formed from ground-plans alone, without an actual examination of the ground, and without having ascertained how far the contour of the surface may have changed, so as to modify elevations and to alter the lines in which it seems likely that walls would run.

S. P. T.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology.

SIR,

It may not perhaps be unacceptable to your readers to have several omissions supplied in the list of Professor Gaisford's works which appeared in your last number.

The first time he appeared as an editor was in an edition of Davies' *Ciceronis Tusc. Disput.* with the usual emendations of Bentley, but with

also, what makes this edition especially valuable, 33 pages of additional notes of Bentley, which were transcribed for it partly from MS. Nn. 3. 40, in the Public Library, and partly from a MS. in Trinity College Library, in this University. Besides the editions of Euripides' *Alcestis*, *Electra* and *Andromache*, published in 1806-7 for the use of Westminster School, in 1809 Dr Gaisford edited the *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, and *Phœnissæ*, with Musgrave's notes, and various readings from a MS. once in the possession of William Hunter: and in 1811 appeared his edition of Markland's *Supplices* and the two *Iphigenias*, enriched with Porson's MS. notes (which afterwards were for the most part published in the *Adversaria*)—and among others, a translation of part of Burney's well-known article in the *Monthly Review* respecting the difference of metrical quantity in the comparative adjectives in *ωρ*, in the language of Athens and other parts of Greece. The edition contains also various tracts of Markland and his correspondence with D'Orville—it gave rise to Dr Elmsley's famous article in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1812. In 1825 he edited, very shortly after Dr Elmsley's death, the *Scholia* in *Sophoclem*, from the transcript which that accomplished scholar had made from the Laurentian MS. when at Florence in 1820. And in 1844 appeared the *Pearsoni Adversaria Hesychiana* from the MSS. in Trinity College Library. I believe that these additions make the long list of his works given in your last number complete.

I do not believe that Dr Gaisford ever contributed to the *Reviews* at any period of his life. Mr George Burges indeed, ad *Æsch. Eumen.* 710, quotes Gaisford in *Monthly Review*, March 1806: but this article, a review of Walpole's *Comicorum Fragmenta*, I believe was written by Professor Dobree, then a Bachelor Scholar of Trinity College.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

H. R. LUARD.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.
Feb. 15, 1856.

Notices of New Books.

A general Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the first four centuries. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1855.

[THIS work satisfies a want long felt by the theological student, and seems to justify a hope that Englishmen will not always blindly worship, or blindly condemn, the theology of other ages and other lands. That Mr Westcott has thus striven to avoid the sins, whether of omission or of commission, to which servility and arrogance are alike prone, is manifest from every line of his writings; the intelligent reader might

infer it from the list of authors whom he recommends (p. 26) to the student of the early Fathers, and by whose aid, to use his own words, "he has sought in every case to try and correct his own views;" they are Möhler, Schliemann, Dorner, Schwegler, Lechler. Learning, however, and candour, rare as they are, are not Mr Westcott's only merits; his learning, like his favourite Origen's, is quickened by a philosophic spirit, while it is regulated by the grammatical precision which those who will may derive from our better public schools and from the universities. The result is a treatise, which by its exhaustive fulness, by its calm confronting of all difficulties, by its logical order and deep reverence for truth, is, we believe (and we are not alone in our opinion), raised far above all its predecessors. Let the reader, for instance, bearing in mind the vast structure of hypothesis which has been raised upon the basis of Justin's quotations of the Apostolic Memoirs, compare the rational and scholarlike treatment of the subject in Mr Westcott's second chapter. Or let him ponder the weighty conclusion: "To the last, however, it will be impossible to close up every avenue of doubt, and the Canon, like all else that has a moral value, can be determined only with practical and not with demonstrative certainty. But to estimate the comparative value of this proof, let any one contrast the evidence on which we receive the writings of St Paul or St John with that which we regard as satisfactory in the case of the letters of Cicero or Pliny. The result is as striking as it is for the most part unnoticed. Yet the record of divine revelation when committed to human care is not, at least apparently, exempted from the accidents and caprices which affect the transmission of ordinary books. And if the evidence by which its authenticity is supported is more complete, more varied, more continuous, than can be brought forward for any other book, it is because it appeals with universal power to the conscience of mankind,—because the same Spirit in the Church which first recognised in it the law of its Constitution has never failed to seek in it afresh guidance and strength."

The author's method is suggested by the turn which recent controversy has taken. The Tübingen divines, observing the distinctive features which mark the teaching of the different apostles, inferred that the apostolic writings did but embody the special tenets of the contending parties of the time, and that the Canon was the result of a compromise. Mr Westcott, agreeing in the main with their premises, rejects the inference, which appears to him to confound the effect with the cause. He regards it (p. 3) as "an unspeakable advantage that the Books of the New Testament are now felt to be organically united with the lives of the Apostles—that they are recognised as living monuments, reared in the midst of struggles within and without by men who had seen Christ, stamped with the character of their age, and inscribed with the dialect which they spoke." But he further shews (p. 250), "that the New Testament, in its integrity, gives an adequate explanation of the progress of Christianity in its distinct types, and that there is no reason to believe that at any subsequent time such a creative power was active

in the Church as could have called forth writings like those which we receive as Apostolic. *They are the rule and not the fruit of its development.*" Mr Westcott traces this development during three periods; the first, to the time of Hegesippus, including the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the Sacred Writings; the second, to Diocletian's persecution, completing the history of their separation from the mass of ecclesiastical literature; the last, to the third council of Carthage, comprising the formal ratification of the current belief by the authority of councils. In his pregnant notes he gives at length the chief authorities and copious references to modern critics; he has paid especial attention to the language of the early fathers as proving their familiarity with the canonical books, and has interspersed not a few valuable emendations of their texts. The book concludes with four appendices: On the history of the word *Kanon*; On the use of Apocryphal books in the early Church; the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon; A collection of early catalogues of the books of the New Testament.

In p. 5 Mr Westcott touches upon the supposed scarcity of manuscripts at the time of the formation of the Canon, and refers to Mr Norton's calculations, "which seem to shew that as many as 60,000 copies of the Gospels were circulated among Christians at the end of the second century." The popular exaggerations on this matter are considered at length by W. A. Schmidt, Professor of History at Berlin, in the 5th chapter (headed *Der literarische Verkehr und der Buchhandel*) of his *Geschichte der Denk- und Glaubensfreiheit im ersten Jahrhundert der Kaiserherrschaft und des Christenthums* (Berlin, 1847), a book which seems to be very little known in this country, though no more thoughtful and careful contribution has ever been made to the history of that most momentous period which it embraces, and though the style is as clear as the matter is solid.]

J. E. B. M.

A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O. T. including the Biblical Chaldees.

From the Latin of Gesenius. By EDWARD ROBINSON, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. With corrections and large additions, partly furnished by the Author in manuscript, and partly condensed from the larger Thesaurus, as completed by Rödiger. Fifth edition, revised and stereotyped. London, Trübner & Co., 1855, pp. 1160. [Gesenius' own corrections were supplied in 1842; and the first 1032 pages of the present work (excepting pp. 623—634) were stereotyped in 1849.]

[THE completion of the Thesaurus by Rödiger in 1853 has enabled Dr Robinson finally to revise the concluding portion of his translation of Gesenius' Lexicon. This portion includes from the word *אֵלֶּף* to the end. How much has been added may be gathered from the fact that 88 pages of the edition of 1844 have in the edition before us been expanded into 116 pages of somewhat greater capacity. In most of the

articles of any length we have observed enlargement and improvement; the meanings being in general more fully and accurately classified, and the etymologies being in some cases better illustrated. The articles on some of the unusual words are entirely new; being adopted or condensed from the Thesaurus, and the views of Rödiger thus substituted for those of Gesenius; though the latter are often stated and criticised. Thus we observe that DNP is rendered *to skat* instead of *to open*; PNP , an unused root, from which are derived PNP , &c., is made to signify *to connect* instead of *to gleam*; under the head PNP a different rendering is given of Gen. xlix. 10; PNP is taken as a plural with the suffix of the first person, after the analogy of PNP ; PNP is rendered a *dithyrambic* or *erratic ode*, from PNP *to wander*. It will of course be open to question, whether the whole of these alterations are necessarily improvements. The explanation of difficult words is not however the most important part of a lexicon. It is in the articles on the ordinary words, such as more peculiarly belong to the province of the lexicographer, that the real superiority of the concluding portion of this edition over the corresponding portion of the former editions consists] J. F. T.

Contents of Foreign Journals.

Ewald's Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissenschaft. Vol. 7. Göttingen. 1855. Explanation of the biblical primitive history (the Deluge). Further examination of the writings of Isaiah. The story of the demoniac of Gergesa. On the holiness of the Bible. Review of works in biblical criticism for 1854—5.

Gerhard's Denkmäler 1855. Nos. 79—81. Pelops and Enomaios on sarcophaguses (by C. Friederichs and Gerhard).—Vienna Vases with scenic representations, by Wieseler.—Hints towards an improved method of studying vases, by Gerhard.—Aidoneus and Herakles, Rhesos and Arganthon, by Panofka.—Aperta Operta (on Keil's paper in the Philologus ix. 3), by Mercklin.—In the Archäol. Anz. Nos. 79—81 are articles on Greek inscriptions from Athens (by A. von Velsen), and on a Roman inscription from Lamia by Papaïiotis and Mommsen.

Gött. Gel. Anz. 1855. No. 177. On Röth's *Die Proklamation des Amasis an die Cyprier*, by H. Ewald.—Nos. 179, 180. On Renan's *Histoire générale des langues Sémitiques*, by H. Ewald.—Nos. 181—184. On Ross' *Die Pnyx u. das Pelasgikon; Alt-Lokrische Inschrift von Chalcion*; and *Archäologische Aufsätze*, by Friedrich Wieseler.—No. 184. On Thorpe's *Beowulf*, by R. Pauli.—Nos. 191, 192. On *Notice sur Daxmon et Guérard*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 194, 195. On *J. Huss Predigten &c. übersetzt von Nowotny*, by Holzhausen.—No. 196. On Simon's *Ludwig IV. genannt der Heilige, Landgraf von Thüringen und Hessen, und seine Gemahlin, die heilige Elisabeth von Ungarn*, by Holzhausen.—Nos. 197—201. On Heyse's and Roszbach's editions of Catullus, by Leutsch.—Nos. 202—204. On Uppström's *Codex Argenteus sive sacrorum evangeliorum versionis Gothicae fragmenta*, by Leo Meyer.—No. 204. On Röhrich's *Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche des Elsasses*, by Holzhausen.—1856. No. 3. On a Phœnician Inscription found near Sidon, by H. Ewald.—Nos. 10, 11. On Lepsius' *Ueber eine hieroglyphische Inschrift am Tempe, von Edfu*, by Uhlemann.—No. 11. On Helps' *Spanish Conquest in America*, by

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List of New Books.—Foreign.

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Anonymi græci oratio funebris, nunc primum in Germania multoque accuratius quam usquam antehac factum est edita et adnotationibus illustrata ab Rect. C. H. Frotschero. 8vo. pp. 81. Fribergæ, Craz and Gerlach. ¾ Thlr.

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THE JOURNAL
OF
CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

Hebraic Notes.

HAVING promised, in my *Horæ Hebraicæ*, (published in 1848), some further attempts at the emendation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and finding that it will be long before I have sufficient leisure to publish them in a continuation of the *Horæ*, I venture to ask a place for them in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, being anxious to put them on record, and to secure for them a full discussion.

I have done nothing beyond simply stating the proposed reading, or interpretation, with a few references and suggestions; those who are conversant with such questions will be able to form a judgment on each case, without the help of any argument or illustration from me.

The corrections included in this paper are such as I consider to be certain; that is, capable of sufficient proof, either from MS. readings, comparison with ancient versions, or internal evidence.

I have ventured to repeat the two chief emendations proposed in the *Horæ*, as an introduction to the rest, and as throwing some light on the state of the Hebrew text, and on the Masoretic pointing.

I hope to send, for a future number, some corrections which still require confirmation.

I. Isaiah viii. 21, 22.

וּפְנֵה לְמַעַל
וְאֵל אֶרֶץ יִבְיִם

וְהִנֵּה

עֲדָה וְחִשְׁבָּה מֵעוֹף

צֹדֶקָה וְאַפְלָה מִגֶּדֶח :

21. And one shall turn his eye upwards,

22. And shall look unto the land ;

And lo !

Her trouble and darkness put to flight,

Her distress and gloom driven away.

No alteration of the words of the text, but a different pointing, which brings out the parallelism, and makes these two couplets introductory to the light and joy of the prophecy which follows. The interpretation of ch. ix. 1, has been corrected by Lowth. See Hor. Hebr. p. 36.

II. Ch. ix. 2.

	For		read
לו קרי		הגוילא	הגיל

הַרְבִּית הַגִּיל

הַגְדִּילַת הַשִּׂמְחָה

שִׂמְחוּ לַפְּגִיף בְּשִׂמְחַת בִּקְצִיר

בְּאִשֶּׁר יִגִּילוּ בְּחֶלְקֵם שָׁלָל :

Thou hast multiplied the GLADNESS

Thou hast increased the *joy* ;They *joy* before thee according to the *joy* of harvest,

As men ARE GLAD when they divide the spoil.

The reasons for this reading are fully given in Horæ Hebraicæ. Observe the introverted parallelism now restored; and the frequent conjunction of גִּיל and שִׂמְחָה, joy and gladness, in the Psalms and Prophets.

III. Isaiah xxvi. 15.

For		read
כָּל-קְצוֹי-אֶרֶץ		כָּל-קְצוֹי-אֶרֶץ
		or כָּל-קְצוֹי-אֶרֶץ

(Auth. Vers.) all the ends of the earth.

Thou hast removed far off all the princes of the earth.
LXX. $\pi\alpha\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$.

See Isaiah i. 10, קִצִּינִי קֶדֶם.

IV. Isaiah lxiii. 8, 9.

לו קרי	For לא נצ	read לא נצ
		or לא נצ

And He was to them a Saviour;
In all their distress a *Treasury*.

All the ancient versions read לא. No alteration of the letters of the text; merely joining the two words, and pointing differently. Observe the parallelism restored

לְמִשְׁכָּנָם
לְאֵלֶיהֶם

Treasury, in the same sense as in Bp Andrewes' Devotions:

The fountain of life and immortality,
The *Treasury* of eternal bliss.

Compare Isaiah xxxiii. 6,

יִרְאֵת יְהוָה הִיא אֹצֵרוֹ

The fear of JEHOVAH is his *Treasure*,

and Deut. xxviii. 12, JEHOVAH shall open unto thee his good treasure, אֶת־אֹצֵרוֹ הַטּוֹב.

Observe also the paronomasia between אֹצֵרוֹ and אֹצֵר as in Isaiah v. 7, lxi. 3, and see Pref. to Van der Hooght's Heb. Bible, § 39, Walton's Prolegomena, viii. § 20, 2, "Quædam contra divi-
sim scribuntur, sed conjunctim leguntur."

V. Hosea vi. 5.

For	read
וּמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ יָצָא	וּמִשְׁפָּטֵי הָאֵלֶּיךָ יָצָא

(Auth. Vers.) and thy judgments are
as the light that goeth forth.

Therefore have I hewed them by the prophets;
I have slain them by the words of my mouth:
And my judgment shall go forth as the light.

No alteration of letters; but the words differently divided. LXX. τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται. See also the Syriac Version.

VI. Joel ii. 20.

For	read
וְאֶת-הַצִּפּוֹנִי	וְאֶת-הַצִּפְעִנִי

(Auth. Vers.) I will remove far off from you the northern army.	I will remove far off from you the basilisk.
--	---

See Jerem. viii. 17, "For, behold, I will send serpents, cockatrices (*q* basilisks) [צִפְעִנִים] among you, which will not be charmed," and Isai. xi. 8. With the latter part of the verse compare the account of the great serpent which stopped the Roman army at the river Bagradas. See also Bochart, Hierozoicon.

VII. Nahum ii. 3.

For	read
הַבְּרָשִׁים	הַפָּרָשִׁים
The fir-trees.	The horsemen.

LXX. οἱ ἰρρεῖς. Some of De Rossi's MSS. read הַבְּרָשִׁים; *defective multi*, as he observes, but probably the ך is rightly omitted, and the only change necessary is from בּ to פּ.

In this instance I find myself anticipated by archbishop Newcome.

VIII. Job x. 15.

For	read
וְרָאָה עֵינִי	וְרָוָה עֵינִי
therefore see thou mine affliction.	and saturated with affliction.

Thus רָוָה answers to שָׂבַע in the foregoing member, and the parallelism is completed. Anticipated by Schultens.

WILLIAM SELWYN.

II.

On the Eastern Boundary of Naphtali, and the Sites of Bethsaida and Capharnaum.

THE remarks of the Rev. J. F. Thrupp on "The Naphtalite Inheritance," in No. VI. of the *Journal of Philology*, lead to several points of interesting inquiry; especially with regard to the localities of a portion of our Lord's ministry when on earth. As they have caused me to examine some parts of the subject, to which I had not previously attended, and as I now see a further application of certain results at which I had previously arrived, I may be able, I believe, in some particulars, to strengthen the position laid down by Mr Thrupp, that a portion of the Naphtalite inheritance lay to the east of the Upper Jordan, and to connect this fact with some other localities.

Judah upon Jordan.—This is given (Josh. xix. 34) as one of the boundaries of Naphtali; Mr Thrupp, however, in common with many others, supposes some error in the present reading: "the absence of any further mention of such a place as Judah in these parts seems to justify us in assuming some corruption of the Hebrew text." In confirmation of this it may be urged that "Judah" is omitted in the LXX. (though afterwards supplied by Origen out of Theodotion): but allowing all due weight to this, it must be stated that the reading "Judah" is found in the Syriac and the Vulgate, as well as in the Chaldee Targum.

But I believe that I shall be able to shew, not only that there is no corruption in the passage, but also that this statement supplies a link in the chain of testimony that the Naphtalite inheritance did cross the Upper Jordan. For what if it can be shewn that a portion of Judah had an actual settlement and possession in that very region? This may be thus proved: "And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorite which was in it. And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein. And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the small towns thereof, and called them Havoth-Jair." Numb. xxxii. 39—41. The connexion of *Jair* with the tribe of Judah is shewn from the genealogy of that tribe in 1 Chron. ii.; where

(ver. 21) Hezron the son of Pharez, the son of Judah, marries "the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead, whom he married when he was threescore years old; and she bare him Segub. And Segub begat Jair, who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead. And he took Geshur, and Aram, with the towns of Jair, [Havoth-Jair] from them, with Kenath, and the towns thereof, even threescore cities. All these belonged to the sons of Machir the father of Gilead."

Thus in the inheritance of Manasseh beyond Jordan there were introduced those who paternally belonged to Judah, though they were reckoned as a portion of another tribe. They might be spoken of as belonging to either the one or the other. Of course after the law was promulgated (Numb. xxxvi.) that inheritances should not pass through daughters from tribe to tribe, any such intermixture could not be expected; but the allotment to Jair amongst his maternal kindred, the Manassites, was *prior* to that arrangement; which may indeed have been suggested by it; for it was in that very tribe of Manasseh, and in the house of Machir, that the question arose respecting the daughters of Zelophehad, which was brought to Moses¹. There must, however, have been an *occasional* transfer of family connexions so as to lead to confusion of tribes; otherwise the transaction alluded to in Ezra ii. 61 would be unintelligible: "— the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai; which took a wife of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite, *and was called after their name.*"

Thus it is certain that a portion of Judah had a Trans-jordanic possession; and to this I believe the allusion is made, when the eastern extent of the Naphtalite inheritance is defined. It would not be more strange for the portion of *territory* to be called by the name of the paternal ancestry of such a separated

¹ The *order* of the events is worthy of notice. In Numb. xxvii. an inheritance amongst their brethren was appointed to the daughters of Zelophehad; then in chap. xxxii. Moses gives to the house of Machir that territory beyond Jordan which intermixed a portion of Judah with Manasseh; afterwards in chap. xxxvi. "the chief fathers of the families of the children of Gilead, the

son of Machir, the son of Manasseh," appeal to Moses, fearing lest the appointment which he had made respecting the daughters of Zelophehad, should cause the Manassite inheritance to pass in part to others—a thing which had already taken place amongst them by the introduction of Jair into the region beyond Jordan.

part of a tribe, than it is for the persons to have received the other designation: we know that the latter was true, and so in this case was, I believe, the former.

Amongst the towns in Bashan given to Manasseh was Edrei (Josh. xiii. 31 and elsewhere), and this place stands at least in juxtaposition with the possession of Jair, the Manassite portion of Judah. Now the same name occurs amongst the Naphtalite towns (Josh. xix. 37); this might be explained on the supposition that this was the same place, which as a border-city might have belonged to both tribes in part. This may seem to receive some confirmation from the LXX. where Edrei is found with a kind of dual termination, 'Εδραι, 'Εδραις, or 'Εδραιμ; it is right however to add that in Josh. xix. 37, where the Naphtalite town is mentioned, the LXX. have 'Ασραϊ; everywhere else they give one of the forms above stated. Whether the Naphtalite Edrei were identical with the Manassite may be a point for discussion; the site of the latter seems to have been identified, but on maps it is placed very variously; the latitude in the map in Kitto's Cyclopædia is about that of the southern end of the sea of Galilee, while in those which Mr W. Hughes has since executed he has placed it in Lat. 33, some miles to the north of the northern end of that lake. If the latter position be correct, the Naphtalite inheritance beyond Jordan might reach it; but if the former be true it would be removed far away from that district. The identification of the Naphtalite Edrei with the Dara (or Dara'), mentioned by Mr Thrupp, must in great measure depend on the spelling of that name, whether or not it has the final ξ; if not there is no link of identification between Dara and Edrei.

There is often a difficulty in harmonising the territories of the tribes, as defined in Joshua by the cities of each, with the neatly formed divisions in modern maps; the truth seems to be that to each tribe certain cities and the circumjacent territory were assigned; while the notion of boundaries only comes into view in general when a tribe has a district allotted to it, after the circumjacent tribes have been defined. And this accounts for several seeming anomalies, such as one tribe possessing cities within the borders of another, as was the case with Manasseh to the west of Jordan. The formation of absolute boundary lines must often have been gradual; and they could hardly have been complete, until the whole of the land was fully occupied. The

divisions of counties, and the divisions within them in England, sprung up much in the same way¹; and thus there are inter-mixed portions; wholly different from the *self-contained* boundaries of the French departments, which were absolutely assigned in modern days, wholly unlike a development from a remote age, or from what originated on the first occupation of a country.

The book of Joshua certainly gives us no reason to suppose that the sea of Galilee was, to any extent at least, a boundary of Naphtali; and thus we may safely consider that its western shore belonged in general to Zebulon; the apparently southern position of one at least of the Naphtalite cities in the south-west of that tribe, (Aznoth-tabor is asserted by Eusebius to have lain in the district of Dio Cæsarea), may be explained by the considerations respecting the boundaries above stated.

It is clear that the expressions of Josh. xix. 34, however they may be explained, relate to the western and eastern boundaries of Naphtali: **וּבְאֶשֶׁר פָּגַע מִיָּם וּבִיהוּדָה הַיָּרְדֵּן מִזְרַח הַשָּׁמֶשׁ**. Whatever be the rendering of the latter words, I have sought to shew that we need not imagine a corruption in the text: those who have thought that there was an error have in general supposed that *Judah* must be excluded from the passage; and then we get *Jordan* for the eastern boundary of Naphtali; a result which Mr Thrupp has shewn to be impossible, from the fact of Naphtalite cities lying beyond that river. And this prevalent opinion, now shewn to be untenable, may have originated in the omission of Judah by the LXX., καὶ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου. The Chaldee Targum here answers precisely to the Hebrew text as we have it; the Vulgate renders, "et in Juda ad Jordanem contra ortum solis." The Syriac gives it, **ܘܒܥܝܫܪ ܦܥܥ ܡܝܡ ܘܒܝܗܘܕܐ ܗܝܪܕܢ ܡܝܙܪܗ ܫܡܫܐ**; thus shewing how they supplied the ellipsis in the construction of "Jordan." It is rather curious that the Arabic in Walton's Polyglott preserves Judah, but omits Jordan; "and unto Judah towards the sunrising." Perhaps the Hebrew words may be rendered, "and it reacheth to Asher on the west, and to Judah on the east of Jordan²."

¹ Sir Francis Palgrave states how impossible it would have been in Saxon days to have defined such divisions; as impossible (he says) as to mark boundary lines on the sea. The territory of a

town or a district extended as far as it was occupied or used, and between such localities there might be much that was yet unappropriated.

² Matt. xix. 1, ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς

Although modern maps in general make the Upper Jordan eastern boundary of Naphtali, an exception should be made regard to that of Spruner in his *Atlas Antiquus*; for he sets the line so as to make it leave the Upper Jordan a few miles to the north of the sea of Galilee; had he caused it to turn that lake in a north-westwardly direction near the place where the Jordan enters it, he would have, I believe, placed it correctly. I suppose that the west side of the lake belonged to Zebulon, and that Naphtali only touched it just about the part where the Jordan flows in at the northern extremity.

Abel-beth-Maachah seems (as Mr Thrupp has pointed out) to have been a Naphtalite city; it can hardly be doubted that it lay east of Jordan, though in some maps it is put to the west of it; it is within the supposed boundary of Naphtali. It is probable that Josephus so identified this Abel (whether rightly or wrongly) with *Abila*, which gave its name to Abilene, as to make the territory of Naphtali extend (as Abilene does) to the neighbourhood of Damascus.

Vites of Bethsaida and Capharnaum.—If in the preceding remarks I have at all strengthened the position of Mr Thrupp, that the Naphtalite inheritance extended east of Jordan, I trust that, though not forming the same conclusions as to some points, I shall be able to do still more to confirm his conclusions respecting that portion of the shore of the sea of Galilee, which was specially the scene of the earthly ministry of the incarnate Son of God.

Although since the days of Reland it has been very general to assume the existence of *two* Bethsaidas, this opinion has been by no means universal. Hug, for instance, maintained that the New Testament speaks of but *one* Bethsaida¹,—the city after-

ward *τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, seems to be taken from Mark x. 1, to speak not of the territory of Judah beyond Jordan, but of the route by which our Lord went to the coasts of Judæa; but as the reading in Mark appears to be *καὶ εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* (instead of *διὰ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*), this conclusion is not so exact and certain. The point is the subject of some inquiry. The name of the lake beyond Jordan might adhere

to the district, and might be cherished by Jews; its preservation there would not be more remarkable than the names of Zebulon and Naphtali and their respective boundaries.

¹ See Hug's *Einleitung*, i. §4, (p. 24, ed. 1847). Hug's remarks led me long ago to regard Julias beyond Jordan as the only Bethsaida of the New Testament, though from not remembering that a city of that name on the west of the lake was an hypothetical suggestion

wards called Julias by Philip,—and that it lay on the east of Jordan, (as we know that it must): and he defended the use of the name of Galilee, as applied to the district where it stood, by referring to the same mention of Judas of Galilee by Josephus, which has been brought forward by Mr Thrupp¹. We know approximately, from independent sources, the position of Bethsaida, to the east of the upper Jordan, just before it falls into the sea of Galilee: there are, I think, reasons for regarding it as *nearer* to the lake than the Tell which has of late been regarded as its site; on this point I may speak afterwards; but we know its position sufficiently well to use it as an index for discovering whereabouts Capernaum (or more properly Capharnaum) lay.

Capharnaum is first mentioned in the New Testament as the place at which our Lord took up His abode, when entering on His more public ministry, Matt. iv. 13; and the fame of His actions there soon spread to Nazareth, Luke iv. 23. At Capharnaum, after he had taught in the synagogue, Mark i. 21, Luke iv. 31, He went *forthwith* from the synagogue into the house of Peter, and healed his wife's mother, (Matt. xiii. 14, Mark i. 29, Luke iv. 38); but we know that Peter and Andrew belonged to *Bethsaida*, John i. 45, (as also did Philip, John i. 45, and xii. 21, if not also James and John, and probably Matthew); and thus from the synagogue at Capharnaum to the house of Peter at Bethsaida was but as a step.

After the feeding of the five thousand, St John tells us (vi. 17) that the disciples were going across the lake unto *is*

of Reland's, I supposed that there might *also* have been such a place.

¹ Hug draws attention to the *close juxtaposition* in which Josephus gives his twofold designation of Judas of Galilee, by which he shews very clearly that that historian did not limit the name of Galilee to the western shore of Jordan and the Lake. "Josephus mentions to us Judas the Gaulonite of Gamala, (*Arch.* xviii. 1), and forthwith in the next paragraph (xviii. 2) he calls him the Galilean; and in another work he gives him the same designation: hence we may be convinced that the

custom of the times respected a more ancient division, in spite of the political geography then existing."

It may be doubted whether the political division which assigned the Jordan as the eastern limit of Galilee, had any existence prior to the *will* by which Herod partitioned his dominions amongst his sons. A fordable river forms a poor boundary; and even now both shores of the Upper Jordan belong, on Robinson's map, to the same Turkish division of the country, which is bounded by the mountains to the east.

Capharnaum: but from St Mark (vi. 45), we learn that on this occasion they were crossing unto *ac* the other side, *scilicet* in the direction of Bethsaida; and in the continuing narrative of St John we are told of the events which occurred the next day at Capharnaum.

These passages make it appear as if Bethsaida and Capharnaum were almost identical; so that there would have been danger of their being regarded as the same place under different names, were it not that our Lord distinguished them in his enunciation, Matt. xi. 21, Luke x. 13. They were at least so close that our Lord could pass immediately from the synagogue in the one to Peter's house in the other; their relative positions were such, that in crossing the lake, a vessel sailing to the one went in the direction of the other. This appears to me to shew that the localities assigned to these towns in the various theories which have been brought forward always make them too far apart.

This juxtaposition seems to accord with the circumstances of the call of Andrew and Peter: the Lord Jesus going forth from Capharnaum finds these Bethsaidaite fishermen on the shore of the lake in that locality, as though it were the place where they would naturally follow their occupation. In John iv. 6, when our Lord had come out of Judæa to Cana of Galilee, a certain nobleman, *ὁ βασιλεὺς*, whose son was sick at Capharnaum comes to Him: now in whatever sense *βασιλεὺς* was here used, it certainly gives us the notion of a royal courtier; and this sense has been thought to be inapplicable to Capharnaum as a locality: but if Capharnaum was close by Bethsaida, which Philip the tetrarch erected into the city of Julias, and where he held his court, we may see the suitability of such a designation in such a locality.

And this conclusion, drawn simply from the New Testament, is thoroughly borne out by Josephus. In the passage in which he mentions the village of Cepharnome¹, he is speaking of the transactions which took place near Julias. Two thousand of the Jewish troops encamped one stadium from Julias, near the Jordan: Josephus joins them there with three thousand more men. Before this the hostile troops were stationed five stadia

¹ *Josephi Vita*, § 72, (ed. Hudson, p. 943).

from Julius (§ 71), and in the battle which ensued between the armies so posted, the horse of Josephus fell, and he having dislocated his wrist, was borne to the village of Cepharnome, and then by night was carried across to Tarichæa.

From this it may be judged that Cepharnome was the nearest place to which Josephus could well be conveyed from the scene of the skirmish; and every indication seems to show that to have been very near Julius.

It seems strange that this passage in Josephus has been looked at so partially: it is admitted that Cepharnome is the Capernaum or Capharnaum of the New Testament; it is admitted also that Julius was the same place as the *known* Bethsaida; and yet the almost necessary deduction has not been drawn, that this *must* be the Bethsaida of the New Testament. If we introduce an *hypothetical* Bethsaida on the west of the lake, we must either admit that Capharnaum was similarly situated with regard to *each* of the cities named Bethsaida, or else we must introduce an hypothetical Capharnaum: thus we should get two pairs of cities similarly named, and similarly related in situation.

It appears to me from Josephus as though Julius were closer to the lake than the Tell which of late years has been supposed to be its locality; for it seems that troops could land at Julius without being intercepted by those that were occupying that region: καταπεπλευκέναι γάρ τινες ὁπλίτας ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχεῶν εἰς Ἰουλιάδα (§ 73).

To this it may also be added that its name, "House of fishing," seems to intimate a close proximity to the Lake.

Besides the places cited above in which Capharnaum is mentioned in the New Testament, it occurs in Mark ii. 1, as the scene of some of our Lord's miracles, (in the parallel place Matt. ix. 1, we find *εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν*); as the place where the centurion's servant was healed, Matt. viii. 5, and Luke vii. 1; as the city to which our Lord went with His disciples after He had taught them concerning His sufferings by death, (Matt. xvii. 24, Mark ix. 33), where by miracle he paid the tribute-money for himself and Peter. Also in John ii. 12 it occurs as the place to which our Lord went with His mother and His disciples after the miracle at Cana. These are *all* the passages in which the place is mentioned; and there is nothing in any

of them to modify the results previously obtained as to the situation of Capharnaum.

There are two passages, besides those already noticed, in which the New Testament speaks of Bethsaida. In Matt. xv. 39 and Mark viii. 10 our Lord has left the scene of feeding the four thousand for Dalmanutha or Magdala, on the south-western shore of the lake: there the Pharisees oppose Him; and they cross to the other side, Mark viii. 13. The same Evangelist mentions (ver. 22) Bethsaida as the place to which our Lord came after this; and then after He had healed a blind man there, He goes on to the villages of Cæsarea Philippi. All this is told us, as if we might be supposed to see that the localities *naturally* followed one another; and as here the Bethsaida mentioned could scarcely be on the western side of the lake, Julias is the place suggested to the reader. Who then would suppose that the same Evangelist would, in ch. vi. 45, have given "towards Bethsaida" as indicating the course of a vessel, if there had been two, one on each of the opposite shores?

The other passage, Luke ix. 10, has been considered the stronghold of the maintainers that two Bethsaidas are mentioned in the Gospels. In Mark vi. 45 the disciples sail *towards Bethsaida* after the feeding of the five thousand. In Luke, before that same miracle, it is said in the common text, ἵκετέ-
ρῃσι κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαϊδά. The reading here is very doubtful, as Mr Thrupp has remarked; and we may seem to increase the difficulty if we adopt the reading which is better attested than the common text. The common Greek copies seem to me to contain a *conflate* reading, blended from two, of which one had ἔρημον τόπον, and the other the name Βηθσαϊδά: and as ἔρημον τόπον seems to have come from the parallel passages in Matt. and Mark, the reading which excludes those words seems the better: εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαϊδά: it is also the better supported by the MS. authorities, if they are regarded in accordance with their *character* and not numbers¹.

¹ The following is a conspectus of the variety of reading in this passage as found in the ancient authorities:—*Common text*: εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαϊδά: so CΔEGHKMS (e sil.) UV (e sil.) ΓΑ (so too A but ἔρημ.

τόπ.). Syr. Hcl. Goth. Arm.

εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαϊδά BLX.

33. Memph. Theb.

εἰς κώμην λεγομένην Βηθσαϊδά D.

εἰς τόπον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαϊδά 1. Æth.

How then can Bethsaida in this place be accounted for. If the common text were the true one, no exception need, I think, be taken to Mr Thrupp's rendering, "He went aside privately into a desert place *from* the city of Bethsaida;" but I do not thus escape from the difficulty; *first*, because I do not believe that to be the true reading; and *secondly*, because, so far from Bethsaida being the district from which our Lord sought to withdraw in the circumstances which then existed, he *returned* to that neighbourhood, (or even place, see Mark vi. 45) *the very next day*.

In comparing Luke ix. 10, and the context, with the parallel passages in Matt. xiv. and Mark vi. it appears that these occurrences took place, when the Apostles informed our Lord of the results of their mission, and when He likewise heard how Herod had beheaded John the Baptist, and now wished to see Him. Hereupon He withdraws himself from Herod's province into that of his brother Philip the tetrarch, so that there might be the avoidance of that weak and wicked ruler. Luke only mentions Bethsaida as the place to which Jesus then went; the place to the neighbourhood of which He returned the next day. For though at first He crossed the lake from Bethsaida, this was merely, as it seems, to avoid the crowds, who however followed Him. Seclusion from notice under the circumstances seems to have been His object. Or, He may have taken this route to go to the Passover, which was (as we know) nigh at hand (John vi.), so as to cross the Lake privately; and then He may have been hindered, by the multitudes who followed Him and sought to take Him by force and make Him a king, from continuing His journey to Jerusalem. By first withdrawing to Bethsaida and then crossing the Lake, He would avoid a considerable part of Herod's dominions. This may, I think, be

εἰς ἐρημὸν τόπον (*tantum*) 69. Curetonian Syriac.

"In locum desertum qui est Bethsaida." Vulg. (9^a) Syr. Pst. "In loc. des. qui vocabatur Beth." a. "In loc. des. quod est Beth." b. c. "In loc. des. qui dicitur Beth." f. "In loc. des. quod appellatur B." e. (The Cod. Amiatinus, and the copies of the *old* Latin have the termination Bethsaida not -dæ.)

These comprehend all the Uncial MSS. known to contain this portion, and a few others, the *text* of which is ancient. Γ and Δ are two MSS. procured by Tischendorf, which by his permission I collated. The Palimpsest which he obtained, and also the Nitrian fragments of St Luke in the British Museum, do not contain the passage: F also is defective.

enough to account for the mention of Bethsaida in Luke ix. Evangelist rests but little on localities; there was a reason the city being specified to which the Lord withdrew from Galilee's territories, which would not apply to the spot being mentioned where the feeding of the five thousand took place. known from Mark vi. that this occurred across the Lake, site to Bethsaida; and it seems, from John vi. 23, that it was Tiberias. Thus so far from the hypothesis of two Bethsai-
das being helped by Luke ix. which has been supposed of Galilee to speak of that called Julias, it would only introduce a new element of confusion, since it is *certain* that Bethsaida-
3 and Capharnaum stood near together, and that *not* on the shore where the five thousand were fed.

1 agreeing with Mr Thrupp that the Trans-jordanic Bethsaida is the only one known in the New Testament, I sufficiently state that I identify Gennesareth with the Batihah at the northern end of the Lake. The dimensions accord, it seems, well those given by Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 10. 8. p. 1155. ed. Hudson), the account which he gives of its fertility, and how well it was irrigated, seems to be unconsciously confirmed by Dr. E. 1 in Robinson's *Palestine*: "It is perfectly level, and a more fertile tract can scarcely be imagined.... Burckhardt says, the inhabitants raise large quantities of cucumbers and gourds, and they carry to the market of Damascus, three weeks before the same fruits ripen there.... The extreme fertility is owing not to the fine soil of black loam, but also to the abundance of water. Not less than three perennial streams besides the Jordan contribute to its irrigation¹." The positions of these streams are then stated.

2 In or in the Batihah Bethsaida and Capharnaum must then have stood; and this would prevent me from identifying the Jordan with Tell-Hûm², (to say nothing now of Khan Minyeh

Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. 305, 6. The whole account of the ride across the Jordan at Batihah is worth comparison with the account of Josephus.

Tell-Hûm may be the Capharnaum of the fourth century and of Arculfus; prior to the age of Constantine this was not a Christian locality at all; and the Jews' house were sought there, it

shews that identifications had been imagined. It can be no cause for surprise if the ancient Capharnaum had utterly disappeared, when we remember that the war in the time of Hadrian caused the entire destruction in that country of fifty cities, and of nine hundred and eighty-five towns and villages. (Xiphilinus cited by Hug, p. 14).

suggested by Robinson). Indeed Tell-Hûm is too far from Bethsaida to answer to the Scripture notices of the close juxtaposition of the two places; and also they are not sufficiently in the same direction from the southern part of the lake for the two names to have been used, as in Mark and John, to indicate the *same* course of a vessel. Two miles of distance apart appear in their full extent from a boat on the water. In looking at Roberts's views of the Lake of Tiberias, (or that given by Vande Velde) it may at once be seen in what *different directions* the supposed sites appear when regarded from the end of the Lake. Mr Thrupp says, (p. 301) "It must be owned, however, that the fountain described by Josephus yet remains to be identified; and that the ruins at Tell-Hûm are about two miles distant from either the Batihah or the Ghuweir."

If then Bethsaida was (as we know) just by the Jordan before it fell into the Lake, Capharnaum must have been almost in the same locality, and on the sea-shore. And this is the place very precisely where I should, independently of this, consider the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali to join¹. The only other point from which Capharnaum might be measured, so as to form a notion, is, as far as I remember, Chorazin. But the identified site, two miles from Tell-Hûm, seems to be just the same distance in another direction from the mouth of the upper Jordan: but though this distance suits, I doubt whether the true site of Capharnaum was known to Eusebius and Jerome.

The New Testament does not tell us on which side the Jordan we ought to look for Capharnaum, but, from its position

¹ Robinson (iii. 289 and *note*) tries to shew that "borders of Zabulon and Nephtalim," as the position of Capharnaum, may be used as meaning anything rather than on or near the boundary line. "It does not necessarily imply that Capernaum was on or even near the line of division between the two tribes; but only that it lay on the sea within the territory of those adjacent tribes; which we know extended along the western coast of the Lake of Tiberias." [How do we know this with regard to Naphtali?] He illustrates his position by a comparison with the ex-

pression "coasts of Tyre and Sidon;" but 1st, no *place* is defined as lying in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, (which in fact could *define* nothing); and 2nd, the expressions are not parallel: Tyre and Sidon held a territory *together* (see Acts xii. 20), and *its* coasts (taken unitedly) were contrasted with those of Galilee; whereas Zebulon and Naphtali held separate territories, and their coasts *divided* them one from the other. Robinson seems to wish to give Tiberias to Naphtali, thus leaving to Zebulon but little of its eastern boundary as laid down in Joshua.

In relation to Bethsaida, it would hardly seem as if the river flowed between. Also, in the account which Josephus gives of the skirmish near Julias, which evidently occurred to the east of Jordan, there is no hint that the river was crossed when he was conveyed disabled to Cepharnome. Also if Capharnaum had not been in the district called Gennesaret, it is difficult to imagine how it could be said that "the place is watered by a most fertilising fountain called by the natives Capharnaum,"—a name which must have sprung from that of a village or town. Had Capharnaum lain at Tell-Hûm, two miles from anything that could be the district of Gennesaret, how could a fountain or stream take its name from that town, and yet water the plain which lies the *other* side of Jordan? But if Capharnaum lay in the Batihah, the fertilising streams are so numerous, that the only difficulty seems to be which to choose. Mr Thrupp says that the fountain yet remains to be identified: so probably it would long remain, if Capharnaum were sought to the west of Jordan; but if the streams in the Batihah be examined, that specified by Josephus may be distinguished by some future explorer.

Hug seems to have perceived distinctly that Capharnaum must have been situated at the mouth of the Upper Jordan: he says, "the Phœnicians, and more particularly the Aradians, transmitted their merchandise by means of the Jordan into more southern regions. Their depôt was thus of necessity at the north of the lake of Gennesaret and at Capernaum, and there would be no lack there of collectors of the customs of transit and importation¹." This is mentioned in connexion with the call of Matthew the publican at Capharnaum.

St Matthew defines the position of Capharnaum very precisely, "on the sea-shore in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim;" and he does this to meet the terms of the prophecy which he quotes from Isaiah. Now in the citation the words "beyond Jordan" occur; and they have been by some passed by without notice; and others have said that they merely formed part of the description cited by the Evangelist from the prophet. But whether they proceed from the prophet or the Evangelist they mean something; and I see no reason for imagining that the *point of view* is different from that of every

¹ Hug's *Einleitung*, § 4, p. 18, ed. 1847.

other place in the New Testament in which the words *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* occur. The place or part designated by the prophet is that portion of "the land of Zebulon" which is conterminous with "the land of Naphtali;" to this in the Evangelist there answers the expression "the borders of Zebulon and Nephtholim:" to "the way of the sea" answers "by the sea-shore;" and just so in the application we ought I believe to consider that "beyond Jordan" properly designates Capharnaum itself.

It is important to see *when* our Lord took up His abode at Capharnaum; it was not till Herod the tetrarch had put John the Baptist into prison; He then left Nazareth, in the centre of Galilee, and sought this new abode, situated (as I think I have shewn) beyond Jordan: and therefore out of the jurisdiction of Herod. He thus commenced to gather disciples around Him in a place where there would not be the same danger for *them* as might have been apprehended from Herod; and where in fact there was more tranquillity than in any other portion of the Holy Land: for the rule of Philip the tetrarch seems during the thirty-seven years that it continued to have contrasted most favourably with that of all sovereigns of that age. There is a certain parity in the action of our Lord in thus taking up His abode at Capharnaum and gathering disciples there, so soon as John was imprisoned, and that of His withdrawal to Bethsaida, when He heard that His forerunner had been put to death. Such withdrawals from scenes of danger occurred repeatedly during His ministry. He avoided Judæa when the Jews sought to kill Him, and that more than once, up to the appointed time when "His hour was come."

In endeavouring to identify the locality of Capharnaum, I am not contending against any well-established tradition as to the site, for there is none: I rest on the New Testament connexion of the place with Bethsaida; on the similar notice in Josephus; on its position in the well-watered region; and on the intimations in Matt. iv. that it was "by the sea-side," and "beyond Jordan."

S. P. TREGELLES.

III.

On the Date of Justin Martyr.

It is interesting to observe how the discordant results of late researches into the philosophy and theology of the first three Christian centuries have been connected with questions of mere chronology. It has been found impossible to separate the discussion of no less important matters than the genuineness of the fourth Gospel from the driest settlement of disputed dates. Practical experience has taught us that in spite of the superior depth of modern thought we shall be at the mercy of any wild historical theory, unless we will condescend to take up once more the studies of the despised sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet, when we remember the great learning and acuteness of many among the earlier critics, it is strange how few conclusions they have really established. The result would probably have been otherwise, had not criticism been employed almost wholly as an implement of the most violent partisanship on both sides in the papal, episcopal, and other similar controversies. The warning ought not be lost upon us in the more vital struggles of our own day. Whatever be the final issue, it must be dangerous to dogmatise on the arrangement of the subtler historical phenomena until those of a more definite and tangible kind have been laid down as landmarks according to the best evidence within our reach.

The present article on Justin Martyr is intended as a contribution towards this preliminary work¹. All the more important

¹ [When the present article was already far advanced, I discovered that Volkmar had recently broached somewhat similar views in two articles in the Tübingen *Theologische Jahrbücher* (*Die Zeit Justin's des Märtyrers*. 1855, pp. 227—283, 412—468; see also 569—572). It seemed best on the whole to defer reading these dissertations till my own should be complete. Had the processes and results been identical, it might

still have been worth while to publish a second investigation, where both were so completely independent of each other (the main outlines of this article were worked out in 1852): as it is, the difference is sufficiently great to remove any lingering scruples. All remarks of Volkmar, that contravene or strengthen the views advocated in the text in any considerable degree, will be mentioned in the notes within square brackets. We

authorities have been discussed over and over again; but I cannot pretend to comment on commentary as well as on text, except for some special reason¹. The safe way of proceeding seems to be to examine first the evidence afforded by Justin himself, and then the rest in order, not suffering Eusebius or any other 'standard' authority to appear before his turn in any character but that of a critic just like Dodwell or Neander.

The Dialogue with Tryphon may be set aside at once as useless for our purpose. It contains (c. 120) a clear allusion to the longer Apology, thereby fixing its own relative date, and no more². The only other surviving genuine works of Justin are the two Apologies, the order of which has been the subject of some discussion. Thrice in the shorter Apology he alludes to passages in the longer, using the words *προέφημεν, ὡς προέφημεν* (II. 4 to I. 10; II. 6 to I. 23, 63; II. 8³ to I. 46): the longer must

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¹ The quantity that has been written upon Justin during three centuries is truly marvellous; but critics have so frequently been content to dilute the thoughts of their predecessors, that the following list will indicate where nearly everything of chronological importance is to be found:—Baronio, Papebroche, Valois, Petau, Pearson, Tillemont, Grabe, Pagi, Prudentius Maranus, Lumper, Neander, Clinton, Semisch, Otto. The two last mentioned learned rather than able critics represent what may be called the received chronology in its most complete and elaborate form.

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c. 16 (*οὐ γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε αὐτοχρεῖς γενέσθαι ἡμῶν διὰ τοὺς νῦν ἐπικρατοῦντας*) an intimation that more than one were ruling, i. e. that M. Aurelius was already admitted to power (which event took place in 147). But (1) the phrase is too general to prove anything as to the number; and (2) Justin is contrasting with Pontius Pilate the rulers of his own day (not merely those of that particular moment), doubtless thinking chiefly of Hadrian, whose especial policy it was to favour the Christians at the expense of the Jews. Another resultless argument, from c. 1, founded on ignorance of the meaning of *νῦν* and forgetfulness of a parallel passage in *Ap. i. 31*, need not be discussed; especially as it rests partly on an absolutely irrelevant reference borrowed without verification from Niebuhr.]

³ *Καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Στωικῶν δὲ δογμάτων... μεμνησθαι καὶ πεφορευσθαι ὀδόμεν' Ἡράκλειτον μὲν, ὡς προέφημεν, καὶ Μουσῶνιον δὲ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλους ὀδόμεν.* Otto's suggested emendations, *ἐν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν* or *ἐν τοῖς προγεννημένοις*, are quite gratuitous, and involve the treatment of *καὶ*... *δὲ* as if it were *δέ*: probably *μὴ* should be read for *μὲν*.

efore indubitably have been written first, according to the prevalent modern view¹, in spite of the titles contained in the . Some have held the one to be a continuation of the r²: much may be said on both sides of this question; but at least the words used are hardly compatible with any long interval of time.

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unfortunately every attempt to fix the chronology by identifying Urbicus with contemporaries of the same name has rested on precarious evidence; and even his office has been rather assumed than proved to have been that of prefect of the city¹. We now come to the important passage, on which the determination of the date of this Apology must ultimately depend. When Ptolemæus was being led to execution, says Justin, a certain Christian bystander named Lucius remonstrated with Urbicus, using the following among other language. *Ὁν πρόπορτα Εὐσεβεῖ αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ † φιλοσόφῳ † καίσαρος παιδὶ οὐδὲ [τῇ] ἱερᾷ Συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὃ Οὐρβικι.* I have given the words as they stand in all the MSS.² of Eusebius except three (*H. E.* iv. 17), in Rufinus³, and in Nicephorus

¹ There are three pieces of evidence.

(1) "Britannos par Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit [Ant. Pius]." (*Capit. Ant. P.* 5). (2) "APOLLINI Q. LOLLIVS PRÆF. VRB." *Inscr. ap. Gruter.* p. 38, n. 13. "Ut, cum Lollius Urbicus V. C. verum videri...pronuntiasset,...iuraverit vecordissimus iste tamen illud testamentum fictum esse, adeo ut sēgre Lollius Urbicus ab ejus perniciē temperarit.—...quod jam, ut dixi, mentiens apud præfectum urbi in amplissima causa convictus est" (*Apul. De Mag.* 2, 3). Where the same person is certainly meant throughout. The reign is shewn to be that of Ant. Pius by the phrase *Imperatoris Pii* (c. 85) contrasted with the thrice repeated *Divus Hadrianus* (c. 11).—Semisch (in *Stud. u. Krit.* for 1835, p. 917), giving no reference, coolly attributes to Apuleius the words *Divus Pius*.—The natural conclusion is that Q. Lollius Urbicus was *legatus Augusti* to Ant. Pius in Britain (in 139; see Clinton, *F. R.* i. 128); that he was *præfectus urbi*, and that under Ant. Pius. There is certainly a fair probability that he is the Urbicus of Justin, but that is all. Nor have we a right to assume that he cannot have been *præfectus urbi* likewise under M. Aurelius. Compare the exactly inverse case of Rusticus discussed at a subsequent page. [A new light is thrown on this

matter by an unpublished inscription at Constantine communicated by Mommsen to Volkmar (pp. 450, 451), beginning thus: *Q. Lollio P. (†) fl. Qvir. Urbico, cos., leg. Aug. provinc. Germ. inferioris, fetiali, legato imp. Hadriani in expeditione Judaica, qua donatus et hasta pura corona aurea:* from which Mommsen compiles the following summary biography: "Q. Lollius Urbicus took part in Hadrian's war against Bar Kochaba (c. 132—135), was then consul, then consular of Lower Germany at the end of Hadrian's reign (†138) and in the beginning of Pius's reign, then legate of Britain in 139 or 140, as Eckhel (vii. 14) shews; and after (probably shortly after) this office prefect of the city."—That is, says Volkmar, from 141 onwards. He adds very fairly that a man old enough to hold a high military command not later than 135, to be consul and consular before 139, and probably to reach the supreme dignity of city prefect in 141, is not likely to have been alive to exercise the same office after 161.—Yet Fronto (p. 304 Mai. ed. 1823), seemingly writing under M. Aurelius, speaks of a case lately tried by a Lollius Urbicus.]

² Likewise the Syriac version.

³ "Non sunt hæc digna pio imperatore, nec sapientissimo puero filio ejus &c."

l. iii. 33). Who are the two persons here mentioned? Except for some strong ulterior reason no one could possibly doubt the famous emperor to be Antoninus Pius. But then who is the sophist son of a Cæsar? Not Marcus Aurelius¹, for his father Annianus Verus the prætor was not a Cæsar. Lucius is the only other possible claimant of the title, and his name is generally allowed. There are however two difficulties, one separately and still more serious when taken together:—that no mention is hereby made of M. Aurelius, himself a philosopher and emphatically known as the Philosopher: second, that Lucius neither was² nor was ever called³ a philosopher. The

Volkmar (pp. 418—420) boldly takes this alternative, taking *καίσαρος* as Antoninus Pius himself, M. Aurelius's adoptive father. The difficulties are twofold. (1) The omission of Annianus Verus. He is omitted, argues Volkmar, in the longer Apology. Nay, he is omitted there by no one except Volkmar: and he has no right to be added to his own rash conjectures as titles. We surely should expect M. Aurelius's adoptive brother to be mentioned by his side. But a far more difficulty is (2) the unfitness of the title *καίσαρος* for M. Aurelius. It is unfit, for the right word would be *βασιλεύς* but *Σεβαστός*, as Mommsen himself intimates (p. 245); and, though that *Καῖσαρ* is sometimes used by the reigning emperor, it is never so used where there is the least possibility of its being supposed to have the popular and usual meaning. Titles of emperors are not likely to be misused, they may easily occur in a wrong

But again, *φιλόσοφος Καίσαρος* in this particular place is feeble and ridiculous to the last degree. What force can there be in the word *καίσαρος* in such an appeal? Above all it is exquisitely absurd to call the "Cæsar's son," when the natural and obvious thing was to call himself "son;" that being his title in his last will! See his coins from 147 on—*Aurelius Cæsar Aug. Pii f.*, in

Clinton (*F. R.* i. 134, sqq.) from Eckhel. Surely old Valois's emendation is far easier than these perverse ingenuities.]

³ The following amusing account of him by Capitolinus (*Ver. Imp.* 2) justifies this statement. "Audivit Scaurinum grammaticum Latinum Scauri filium, qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit; Græcos Telephum, Hephæstionem, Harpocrationem; rhetores Apollonium, Celerem Caninium, Herodem Atticum, Latinum Cornelium Frontonem; philosophos Apollonium et Sextum. Hos omnes amavit unice atque ab his invicem dilectus est; nec tamen ingeniosus ad literas. Amavit autem in pueritia versus facere, post orationes: et melior quidem orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta, imo, ut verius dicam, pejor poeta quam rhetor. Nec desunt qui dicant eum fuisse adjutum ingenio amicorum, atque ab aliis ei illa ipsa qualiacunque sunt scripta; siquidem multos disertos et eruditos semper secum habuisse dicitur." The vague phrase in *Ap.* i. 1, *ἐπιδότην παιδείας*, unnoticed in the lexicons, seems to mean nothing more than "a votary"—perhaps half ironically "amateur"—"of literature," which agrees well enough with the description of Capitolinus: compare Achilles Tatius's account of a somewhat similar character (viii. 9): *καὶ τοὶ γὰρ νέος ὢν συνεγένετο πολλοῖς ἀλδοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἀπασαν εἰς τοῦτο δαδωπαρήκει· σεμνότητι*

second difficulty will cease to exist if we accept the reading *φιλοσόφου* on the inferior authority of the MSS. of Justin, and the Fuketian and Savilian MSS. (D. F.) of Eusebius: at least, weak and worthless as Ælius Verus was, he had a better right to be described as a 'philosopher' than his equally dissolute son¹. But the omission of M. Aurelius's name is a difficulty not so easily removed, and has driven nearly all critics to the desperate resource of supposing him to be the Pious Emperor mentioned first. How far other reasons have led to this result, affecting the whole chronology of Justin as well as the interpretation of a single passage, will appear presently. This supposition appears to me utterly monstrous. The evidence adduced to shew that

δέδρακε, καὶ σωφροσύνην ὑπεκρίνατο, παιδείας προσποιούμενος ἔργῳ κ. τ. λ. Pagi (*Crit. in Bar. i.* 157) gravely says that he was called a philosopher "non eruditionis ejus ratione sed propter austeriorem vivendi formam." The "austerity" of L. Verus would be a good subject for the ingenuity of an aspiring critic.

² The dedication to the First Apology is only an apparent exception, for *φιλοσόφου* is certainly the true reading there, as given by the MSS. of Eusebius marked A. E. G. H. I. K. by Dr Burton, by the MSS. of Rufinus (according to Valois), and by Nicephorus. See Neander, *Ch. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 414 note, Bohn's ed. No argument can fairly be drawn from the dedication of Athenagoras's later memorial *Ἀποκρίσεις, Μάρκῳ Ἀββηγλῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, καὶ Λουκίῳ Ἀββηγλῷ Κομόδῳ, Ἀρμενιοῖς, Σαρματικοῖς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, Φιλοσόφοις*, as the plural shews the promiscuous use of the epithets (Neander, p. 417).

³ "Fuit hic vitæ lætissimæ, eruditus in literis, Hadriano (ut malevoli loquuntur) acceptior forma quam moribus. In aula diu non fuit, in vita privata etsi minus probabilis minus tamen reprehendus ac memor familiæ suæ, comptus, decorus, pulchritudinis regiæ, oris venerandi, eloquentiæ celsioris, versu facilis, in republica etiam non

inutilis." Spartian. *Æl. Ver.* 5. The insinuation "orationem pulcherrimam, quæque hodie legitur, sive per se sive per scriniorum aut dicendi magistros parasset" (c. 4), and the general statement "Nihil habet in sua vita memorabile nisi quod primo [or primus] tantum Cæsar est appellatus" (c. 2. Casaubon's reading) will hardly affect the question. [This application of the epithet "philosopher" to Ælius Verus is the only difficulty which Mommsen (p. 247) finds in the precisely parallel clause of *Ap.* i. 1; and its rejection is the principal if not the only root of Volkmar's mistakes. A difficulty it certainly is: but we must remember that in *Ap.* i. 1 either ÆL. or L. Verus *must* be recognised as a "philosopher," unless we adopt Volkmar's desperate remedy of cutting away the clause altogether. After all Mommsen himself (l. c.) says that the epithet belongs in a formal address with about as much right or wrong to L. Verus as to M. Aurelius;—may we not add more emphatically,—to ÆL. Verus as to L. Verus? It was no very gross flattery to apply a word, which at this period was of singular flexibility, to an accomplished though weak and luxurious man of letters, when death, and the years that had elapsed since death, had softened the more repulsive features of his image.]

Aurelius was ever called *Pius* in his own lifetime is very
 ty and suspicious¹. But, supposing it were much fuller and
 certain, these plain facts would still remain beyond dis-
 , that he was not habitually known by that name, that his
 ecessor (to whom it would be moreover both natural and
 onant to the usage of other Apologies to allude in this place
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 s be made, it seems to me less difficult to suppose that for
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 ted. There is however another resource, though, strange to
 it has met with little favour. According to Valois², the
 x Mazarinæus (C.), one of the best MSS. of Eusebius, reads
 φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Καίσαρος παιδί. Probably this is only another way
 xpressing the sense of the common text: but it *may* be a
 ge of an older and fuller reading. At all events it suggested
 alois the following happy restoration of the passage³: οὐ
 ντα Εὐσεβεῖ αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ [καίσαρι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ]

Few will dispute Eckhel's author-
 this matter. The following are
 rds (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vii. 74). "In
 omen" [PIVS] "Aurelio per adop-
 a Antonini Pii jus quidem fuit,
 iam tamen illud in ejus vivi
 mentis legitur, at in ejus conse-
 rumis occurrit constanter, ut vidi-
 forte quoniam jam antea uxorem
 ie mortuam PIVAM appellari voluit,
 ira in numis Divæ Faustine doce-
 . Etiam Severus se vocat DIVI
 a *Filium*. Vide hujus numos ad
 a V. C. 948. Parum igitur pros-
 adseruit Pagius (*Crit. Baron.* ad
 Jhr. 162. § 3) M. Aurelium passim
 fuisse nuncupatum, atque istud
 viris eruditissimis non fuisse ob-
 um. Unicum mihi usque modo
 lum occurrit ex marmore Afri-
 (*Mus. Veron.* p. 458. 7): PRO
 RE IMP. M. ANTONINI AUG. PII.
 IOBYMQUE. EIVS. Hic M. Anto-

ninus alius esse non potest ab Aurelio
 nostro; nam qui eadem nomina tule-
 runt, Caracalla et Elagabalus, liberis
 caruere. Fuere nomina quædam honori-
 fica, quæ apud Romanos nonnisi post
 excessum tribui sunt solita, aut, ut
 planius loquar, fuere decreta. Drusus
 senior post mortem *Germanicus* dici
 cæpit. Caracallam soli consecrationis
 numi *Magnum* appellant, vivum nun-
 quam." [Volkmar (p. 445) truly remarks
 that, when Themistius (*Or.* xv. p. 191
 Hard.) refers the incident of the Thun-
 dering Legion to "Antoninus Pius,"
 it is not by an unusual application of
 the name, but by a mistake about the
 person.]

² It is fair to mention that Dr Bur-
 ton's collator does not notice the varia-
 tion.

³ [From whatever cause, there is no
 allusion to this emendation in the 112
 pages of Volkmar's articles.]

καίσαρος παιδί, κ.τ.λ. The words enclosed in brackets, supplying the missing allusion to M. Aurelius, may easily have dropped out, leaving no trace of their existence except in the confusion of φιλοσόφου and φιλοσόφῃ. Nor is there anything in the state of the text which makes the loss improbable. We possess but two MSS. of Justin, written the one in 1364 and the other early in the 15th century, both full of corruptions, especially such as arise from similarity of ending. The earliest described Greek MS. of Eusebius is of the 10th century, and his text had apparently degenerated even in Rufinus's time. But indeed there is no difficulty in supposing that he himself used an impure MS. of Justin; assuredly the New Testament was not the only book that suffered injury at the hands of the scribes of the 3rd century. There is therefore no rashness in adopting a conjecture which justifies all the existing diversities of reading, and removes otherwise insuperable difficulties of interpretation. Every word in the sentence tells with full force, when we hear Lucius condemning conduct unworthy of a Pious Emperor, or a Philosopher Cæsar, or the son of a Philosopher Cæsar. And this view is confirmed by the concluding prayer of the Apology, that those whom Justin is addressing may even for their own sakes give such righteous judgement as *piety* and *philosophy* demand (ἀξίως εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας). The discussion of this one passage has occupied much space: but it was of the utmost importance to shew that internal evidence requires us to place Justin's second no less than his first Apology in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

The first Apology has likewise difficulties of its own. It opens thus: Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ¹ † Σεβαστῷ

¹ [Volkmar (p. 245) shews, on Mommsen's authority, that the universal order on coins and inscriptions is Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβής, and would therefore here invert the two last titles, assuming that a scribe corrupted the passage, wishing, after M. Aurelius's death, to distinguish between him ("Antoninus Verus") and Antoninus Pius. The matter is not worth fighting about; but it seems to me pedantic to apply too rigorously the laws of the "curial style" of coins and inscriptions (especially in regard to the mere order of words) to

the free address of a Samaritan, not separated as an external heading, but forming an integral part of a grammatical sentence. If an emendation is necessary, I would rather recall the fact that in Eusebius Καίσαρι likewise stands before Σεβαστῷ; suppose that Σεβαστῷ itself is the word misplaced, and that its dative termination is owing to its misplacement; lastly, insert it before υἱῷ (where it is wanted), and read the whole of the first two clauses thus: Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ Καίσαρι Οὐρηρσίμῳ

καὶ † Οὐρηρίσιμω υἱῷ² φιλοσόφῳ³ καὶ Λουκίῳ † φιλοσόφου † φύσει υἱῷ καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῇ, ἐραστῇ παιδείας, ἱερᾷ τε συγκλητικῇ δὴμῳ Ῥωμαίων, κ.τ.λ. No one doubts who are the here intended: they are Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Verus, as in the shorter Apology. The question whether he is described as himself a philosopher, or as the son of a philosopher, recurs once more, but is easily answered here. In accordance with the presumptions already alleged in behalf of the father Ælius Verus, we have at least three distinct readings arising out of the passage itself. First, the reading υἱῷ has the authority of Rufinus⁴ and Nicephorus (iii. 26), six MSS. (A. E. G. H. I. K.) of Eusebius (iv. 12)⁵. Second-reading φιλοσόφῳ destroys the obvious antithesis, "son of a philosopher by birth, and of a Pious Caesar by adoption⁶."

υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ. If Οὐρηρίσιμω between Σεβαστοῦ and υἱῷ play on the words may make the reading allowable, even if otherwise, we might better still retain the reading of Eusebius, merely translating and changing -φ into -οῦ. Certainly nothing wrong in Σεβαστῷ for the reigning emperor; Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.* 339,

Mommesen (p. 244) objects to the reading Καίσαρι (correctly retained by Eusebius), as also to Καίσαρι ad of the reigning emperor's address at the beginning; and rightly follow Sylburg in placing Καίσαρι. He gives Boeckh, r. 348 as an authority for the omission of Καίσαρι from the emperor's titles, though he (p. 245) that Justin must have been ignorant to make it the first of the emperor's titles. Be it so; yet his address is intelligible enough;—to dis-
respectfully the αὐτοκράτωρ and the

Mommesen (p. 245 s. f.) complains of the reading thus alone. The difficulty vanishes by the adoption of the 3 proposed p. 162, note 1. But not without such difficulties as these

neither invalidate the genuineness of the address nor change the chronological data.]

³ [Mommesen (pp. 245, 247) remarks (after Casaubon and Saumaise on Capit. M. Aur. 1) that Φιλοσόφῳ never occurs among M. Aurelius's official titles. Doubtless; but he does not deny that it was the first epithet that would rise to the lips of any one in Rome in thinking of the young prince. Could we desire a better token to remind us that an Apology is not a coin or a votive tablet!]

⁴ Beatus Rhenanus's edition of 1535 (I have not seen that of Cacciari) reads "IMPERATORI ÆLIO ADRIANO ANTONINO PIO, Cæsari Augusto, et verissimo philosopho: et Lucio philosopho Cæsaris proprio filio, ac Pii adoptivo, amatori sapientiae, &c." But Valois says: "Rufini codices manuscripti hunc locum ita exhibent: et Lucio philosophi Cæsaris proprio filio."

⁵ Instead of καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος φύσει υἱῷ καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῇ, ἐραστῇ παιδείας, ἱερᾷ τε συγκλητικῇ the Syriac has only καὶ Λουκίῳ Καίσαρος υἱῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν [or πᾶσιν τε] συγκλητικῇ.

⁶ Not to speak of the absurdity of opposing a "Caesar" to a "pious"

Thirdly, if we read φιλοσόφῳ, the description of L. Verus's personal merits is interrupted in the midst by his genealogy¹.

The preceding words have likewise been seized on for chronological purposes. According to either of the two readings supported by MS. authority, the title Καίσαρι is applied to Antoninus Pius but not to M. Aurelius: whence it is inferred that the Apology was presented before the Cæsarship had been conferred on M. Aurelius, that is, before the year 140 at latest. Supposing the text to be sound, the argument is sufficiently good, and would require considerable evidence on the other side to rebut it. There is however some reason to doubt whether we have here any clue to the date at all. Instead of Σεβαστῇ Καίσαρι καὶ the MSS.² of Eusebius (followed by Rufinus and Nicephorus) read

man, or of ignoring the Cæsarship of M. Aurelius while that of Æ. Verus is proclaimed.

¹ [Volkmar (pp. 253—263), apparently with the consent of Mommsen (p. 262), pronounces the whole clause καὶ Δουκίῳ—παύδελας to be spurious. Elsewhere he cannot understand why L. Verus, a private person, should be mentioned at all. To which let Mommsen answer (p. 247). "That the (subsequently so called) L. Verus is here introduced [*mit genannt*] during the reign of Pius, in which he was a private person, cannot appear strange. In like manner we find an inscription of Thessalonica (*Corp. Insc. Gr.* 1268 [read 1968]) erected to Pius and his children, M. Aurelius, Faustina, and L. Commodus, that is to say, our Lucius." Here, however, Volkmar first proves satisfactorily *diplomatisch, grammatisch, und logisch* that φιλοσόφῳ must be the true reading, and then declaims for some pages against the possibility of Ælius Verus being ever called a philosopher. On this point I can only refer back to p. 160, n. 1. How then came the clause into existence? A scribe, says Volkmar (p. 261), seeing allusions (in c. 2) to φιλόσοφοι and ἐρασταὶ παύδελας, and knowing that M. Aurelius's adoptive brother L. Verus was in youth

studiosus literarum, thought that he ought to appear in the address by M. Aurelius's side. He introduced him rightly as Ant. Pius's adopted son: but how came he to call him M. Aurelius's own (φύσει) υἱός? Here Volkmar bethought him of an interpretation of the seemingly contradictory *Hist. Aug.* suggested by Niebuhr (*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* ii. 277), that L. Verus after being adopted by Ant. Pius was again adopted by his own adoptive brother M. Aurelius: φύσει is rather in the way; but then, says or said V., the scribe guessed that L. Verus must have been own son to M. Aurelius, as he was not likely to know about the double adoption! This notable theory, however, seems to have been shelved on the arrival of Mommsen's letter, suggesting rather more rationally that the scribe confounded Commodus, the real son of M. Aurelius, with L. Verus, and so gave the latter a wrong father. And all these ingenuities are invented, because forsooth it is so hard to believe that Ælius Verus nine or ten years after his death was mentioned in an antithetical complimentary address to his son with a title habitually bestowed on Crescena and Peregrinus Proteus.]

² Likewise the Syriac version.

« Σεβαστῇ καί; shewing that we must not trust too much to immaculateness of the text. Sylburg and others would Σεβαστῇ καὶ Καίραρι¹. Others again would insert a second «, reading Σεβαστῇ Καίραρι καὶ Καίραρι. It would be rash to accept or reject positively any one of these readings². The matter must be left uncertain, the traditional text having a kind of presumption in its favour, until overthrown by independent testimony.

On the other hand the phrase ἐπάσθη παιδείας is foolishly unmeaning as applied to a boy of ten, which was L. Verus's age at the end of 140; and every added year makes it more intelli-

Another passage reads as follows (*Ap.* i. 46): "ἵνα δὲ μὴ τινες γαίροντες, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν δεδιδαγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, εἴπωσι πρὸ ἐτῶν πενήτηκόστα γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου, κ.τ.λ. There is no necessary improbability in the common (not universal) view that the date here given is expressed in round numbers. It must at least be worth while to determine, if possible, what would be its precise value taken strictly. There can be no doubt that Justin followed the ordinary Roman (if not also Christian³) computation, which placed the Crucifixion in the late of the two Gemini, or the 15th year of Tiberius, that is, 29⁴. There is almost as little doubt that he adopted the

Germanisch (*Justin der Märtyrer*, i. Breslau, 1840), commenting on Justin's supposition that καὶ had fallen out, has been reinserted in the wrong place. It calls it "wonderful that the insertion of ... καὶ has been so extended and generally admitted, that in none of the existing MS. copies of Justin's works can be found either of the suppression of καὶ, or of the pre-genuine and original reading." It is much more wonderful that a critic, acquainted with the true date, and character of "the MS. copies of Justin," (see above) should have the assurance to add such a sentence! [For other reasons requiring the transposition of καὶ, see Hensen's views in p. 163, note 1.] His is too strongly put: καὶ Καί-

ραρι Σεβαστοῦ now appears to me most probable. See p. 161, note 1.]

¹ See Mr Henry Browne's *Ordo Saeculorum*, p. 77.

² The chain of patristic authorities for this year are fully examined by Mr Browne, pp. 73—80. That Justin followed this computation is further rendered probable by the fact that he twice (*Ap.* i. 35, 48) appeals to the *Acta Pilati*. Now these Acts, whether genuine or spurious, certainly fixed as the day of the Crucifixion the 25th of March (S. Epiph. *Pan.* i. 420 Col.; PsChrys. *Hom. Pasch.* vii. t. viii. p. 968. ed. 1836, quoted by Pearson, *Ann. Paul.* i. 343 Churt.), which was the day appropriated by at least Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 8, most circumstantially), St Hippolytus (*Can. Pasch.* i. 38 Fabr.),

then current belief¹, which gave to our Lord's ministry a duration of a little more than a year². He certainly believed about thirty years to have elapsed between the Nativity and the Baptism³. From these data it would follow that the first Apology must have been presented in 148, if the language were to be strictly construed⁴.

Lastly, Justin alludes to a famous contemporary in these terms (*Ap.* i. 26): *Μαρκίωνα δέ τινα Ποντικόν, δε καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶ διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομένους ἄλλον τιῶν νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεόν, δε κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλλήψεως πολλοὺς πεποιήκε βλασφημίας λέγειν, κ.τ.λ.* It cannot then be doubted that Marcion had been teaching his peculiar doctrines some years. We are thus driven to inquire into Marcion's date, as an element which cannot be ignored in determining that of Justin. Now Marcion's name is so closely connected with that of several Roman bishops, that, if the chronology of their succession were clearly ascertained, the birth-year of his heresy could be easily inferred. Unfortunately however the several Greek, Latin, and other catalogues of bishops differ so widely from each other, and are so corrupt in text, that, for the present at least, the

Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 10, according to some MSS.) and St Augustine (*De civ. Dei*, xviii. 54), who likewise adhered to the above mentioned year (Browne, l.c.). Indeed a comparison of this passage of Tertullian with another (*Apol.* 6), in which he apparently refers to the Acts of Pilate, might lead to a suspicion that he drew his knowledge of year and day alike from that source. Mr Browne (pp. 78, 80) speaks as if Epiphanius reported both year and day to be given in the Acts; but I can find no trace of the year.

¹ Possibly the same may be inferred from the words which follow, *δεδιδάχεναι δὲ ἃ φάμεν διδάξαι αὐτὸν ὕστερον χρόνους ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου*. Nothing can be more arbitrary than the attempts to alter this passage because *ὕστερον χρόνους* is a rather unusual phrase. Compare Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 273 B. *ὕστερον δὲ χρόνους αὐτὴν τελευτοῦσαν τῇ πόλει τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολιπεῖν*.

² Mr Browne (pp. 80—92) has shewn that this view is asserted explicitly by

St Clement, Origen, and Archelaus, and implicitly by Tertullian, Julius Africanus, St Hippolytus, Lactantius, Pseudo-Cyprian, and St Augustine; Meliton forming the earliest exception and that a doubtful one.

³ *Καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἢ πλείονα ἢ καὶ ἑλᾶσσονα μέιναι, μέχρι οὗ προσῆλθουσιν Ἰωάννης κήρυξ αὐτοῦ τῆς παρουσίας καὶ τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὁδὸν προῖων. Dial.* 88.

⁴ Clinton (*F. R.* i. 139, 141) says, "Justin probably placed the Nativity 30 years current—*τριάκοντα ἔτη ἢ πλείονα ἢ ἑλᾶσσονα, Dial. c. Τριττῆς. c.* 88—before the 15th of Tiberius; and the 150 years would end in strict computation in A. D. 149." But it is too much to assume that Justin would omit the 15th of Tiberius in making a summation of years, merely because he could speak of the Baptism and also of the Passion as taking place in it; though a similar inadvertence has been committed by St Clement.

investigation must stop here¹. But I wish to protest most strongly against all attempts, from whatever quarter, to make any interpretation of any of these catalogues the canon by which the chronology of the second century is to be determined. If they were far purer and more consistent than they are, still recourse must first be had to the incidental allusions scattered here and there in contemporaneous and subcontemporaneous Christian literature. The Catalogues may be of inestimable value when rightly used: they cannot be allowed to override less articulate but also less suspicious evidence.

The results obtained thus far from the words of Justin himself may be briefly summed up as follows. The two Apologies were both certainly written in the reign of Antoninus Pius, that is, between July 138 and March 161; probably within a very short time of each other; perhaps forming only one work. The first Apology was written *possibly* before M. Aurelius was nominated Cæsar, that is, before 140. On the other hand, a numerical statement, if taken strictly, indicates the year 148: and L. Verus, who was but 7½ years old at Antoninus's succession, must have reached the beginning of manhood. The limit fixed by the allusion to Marcion remains for consideration at a future time. We must now proceed to other evidence.

In the later Apology² Justin declared his expectation of

¹ Chev. Bunsen (*Hippolytus and his age*, i. 425, 456, ed. 2) promises a collation of "the most authentic text of the *Liber Pontificalis* from the Neapolitan MS. discovered by Pertz," and (apparently) other "new documents" relating to these matters. All the patristic references bearing on Marcion's date, which are independent of the Roman episcopates, involve peculiar difficulties that appear insoluble without some sure external standard. Both they and the Roman episcopal chronology are more likely to receive light from investigations into Justin's date than *vice versa*. [Volkmar's attempt (pp. 270—283) to perform this inverse process is not happy. He does not even appear to see what are the elements of the problem.]

² In c. 3 of Prud. Maranus and Otto. These editors have groundlessly transposed the chapter from its place in the MSS. after c. 8, on the strength partly of an imaginary compulsion in Eusebius's words (Τούτοις ὁ Ἰουστῖνος εἰκότως καὶ ἀκολούθως ὡς προεμνημονεύσαμεν αὐτοῦ φωνὰς ἐπαγγεῖ λέγων), and partly of the context. In reality it interrupts the connexion of cc. 2 and 4, and on the other hand closely coheres with c. 8; the opening words, Κἀγὼ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι, refer back not to the martyrdom of Lucius (c. 2) but to the ill-treatment of Heracleitus and Musonius (c. 8); Justin's object being to shew that the spirit which now persecuted the Christians was the same that had persecuted the great philosophers of old

suffering death at the instigation either of some of those, whose cruelty had furnished the occasion of his complaint, or of the Cynic (miscalled) philosopher Crescens. That his worst fears were realised is proved by good and sufficient evidence, even if we reject the unquestionably early and simple-hearted Acts of his Martyrdom. There is likewise reason to suspect that Crescens was really the instigator of the deed. For his disciple Tatian, who is said to have left Rome soon after the event, describes him as having "plotted to effect Justin's death, as also his own, because by preaching the truth he convicted the philosophers of being gluttonous impostors¹." The relations between Justin and Tatian must not be forgotten, as they supply an important element of the evidence by which the limits of our chronology are determined.

From this time forwards for many years there is a lack of direct testimony. St Irenæus, Tertullian, St Hippolytus, and St Methodius mention Justin without a hint about the time when he lived²; and so we are led on to the seemingly copious accounts of Eusebius. His *Chronicle* (t. ii. pp. 287, 289, ed. Aucher) gives two dates: for the year of Abraham 2156, of Antoninus Pius 3 (not reckoning his year of accession), that is, A.D. 141³, we have "Justinus nostri dogmatis Philosophus librum sup-

time. [Volkmar's interposition (p. 427) of c. 3 after c. 10 is no less destructive to the sequence of thought. At the end of c. 10 Justin speaks of the common artisans who were enabled to despise death through Christ the power of the unutterable Father. 'But we should not even be in their power to slay,' (οὐκ ἂν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐφρονεῦμεθα οὐδὲ δυνατώτεροι ἡμῶν ἦσαν κ.τ.λ.) he goes on in c. 11, 'were not death the common lot of all men.']

¹ Θανάτου δὲ ὁ καταφρονῶν [Κρίσκης] οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐδεῖλε τὸν θάνατον, ὥς καὶ Ἰουστίνον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐμέ, ὥς κακῷ τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύσασθαι, διότι κηρίττων τὴν ἀλήθειαν λήχνους καὶ ἀπατεῶνας τοὺς φιλοσόφους συνήλεγχεν (*Or. ad Græc.* c. 19). The reading of the MSS. of Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 16), μεγάλῳ for καὶ ἐμέ ὥς, is improbable:

ὥς for οὗς, which the MSS. of Tatian read, is the necessary correction of Gesner and Pearson.

² S. Iren. *Adv. hæc.* iv. 6. § 2; v. 26. § 2; Tert. *Adv. Valent.* 5; S. Hippol. *Ref. Hæc.* viii. 16; S. Method. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 298 a 37 Bek. Possibly Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 8) means to say that he was likewise mentioned by Hegesippus. Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Ἰουστίνος γνήσιος τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας ἐραστῆς ἔτι τε τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀσκούμενος ἐνδιέτριβε λόγους. Σημαίνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτῳ τὸν χρόνον κ.τ.λ. But I believe the true reading of the latter words is that of the excellent Venice MS. (H.), καὶ οὗτος: and in that case κατ' αὐτὸν must certainly refer, not to the authority of Hegesippus, but to his time, καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο χρόνον.

³ The greatest care is requisite in

plicationis propriæ ob mandatum adhibuit¹;" for 2168 of Abraham, 15 of Antoninus Pius, that is, A.D. 153, "Crescens Cynicus Philosophus agnoscebatur. Is Justino nostri dogmatis Philosopho mortem martyrii insidiatus est, quia apud ipsum helluo et Philosophiæ expers apparebat²." It is not clear whether or not this statement was intended to indicate the year of Justin's death; if so, Eusebius is at variance with himself. The *Ecclesiastical History* professes at the outset to give in full what had been briefly summed in the *Chronicle*³. In describing the events and persons

interpreting these dates. Pontac's years A.D. are always one too many, from his ignoring the fact that the *Chronicle*, counting years of emperors, does not include the year of accession. Vallarsi follows him.

¹ The notice stands thus in the Hieronymic version, under the year 142, 4 (not reckoning the year of accession) of Antoninus Pius (so Scaliger and many MSS. of Pontac: Pontac himself, and Vallarsi have virtually 141): "Justinus philosophus librum pro nostra religione conscriptum Antonino reddidit."

² In the Hieronymic version, under the year 151, 13 of Antoninus Pius (so Scaliger, Pontac, and Vallarsi: other MSS. give 153, others 155): "Crescens Cynicus agnoscitur: qui Justino nostri dogmatis philosopho, quia se gulosum et prævaricatorem philosophiæ coarguebat, persecutionem suscitavit, in qua ille gloriöse pro Christo sanguinem fudit." It will be observed that the last clause, added by St Jerome, gives just the definiteness of meaning from which Eusebius had prudently abstained. Another notable instance of the same process deserves mention in this place. Eusebius in his *History* (iv. 3) describes the apologists Quadratus and Aristeides without saying a word about the result of their application to Hadrian. In a later chapter (iv. 8) he tells us *wholly on Justin's authority* of a memorial from Serennius Granianus asking advice how to treat the Christians, and a reply from Hadrian to his successor Minucius Fun-

danus giving much such cautiously merciful injunctions as Pliny had before received from Trajan. In his *Chronicle* (according to the Armenian version) he naturally places the two circumstances together, as Justin gave him no date for the latter. St Jerome however by a slight change of wording (seemingly trivial enough) converts the two affairs into one, misunderstanding what Eusebius meant by placing them together. In his *Epistle to Magnus* he goes a step further, and distinctly asserts that the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristeides stopped a most grievous persecution.

This part of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius requires, and would repay, a very thorough examination. Beyond a few verbal corrections, nothing has really been done for it except by Scaliger; and he had no Armenian version to help him. An essay by Spittler, one of Heyne's best coadjutors, in the *Comm. Soc. Reg. Götting.* for 1757 (viii. 39—67) may be consulted with advantage; as also a short essay by Mommsen in the *Transactions of the Saxon Academy* for 1850, pp. 669—693. Spittler refers largely to a dissertation by Hieronymus de Prato (Veronæ, 1750), which I have not seen. I cannot get rid of a suspicion that many of the notices of men and events were intended by Eusebius to be only approximately placed, and not to be fixed to definite years. The mistake, if it be one, was natural and easy for scribes and editors.

³ Ἡδὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἐν οἷς

worthy of note during Hadrian's reign, Eusebius (iv. 8) introduces Hegesippus on the strength of his having noticed the games in honour of Antinous as instituted in his own time, and Justin on a similar ground as having represented the deification of Antinous and Jewish rebellion under Barchochebas as quite recent events. Proceeding a little further on (iv. 10) to the reign of Antoninus Pius, he notices certain heretics, Valentinus, Marcus, Cerdon, and his successor Marcion, fixing their date relatively to the Roman bishops by the evidence of St Irenæus, and thence inferring their date relatively to the emperors by means of his own chronology of the bishops. He likewise observes that Hegesippus by his own account was at Rome in the episcopate of Anicetus and remained there till that of Eleutherus, and adds that Justin flourished about their time (*μάλιστα δὲ ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶνδε Ἰουστινῶς*). Apparently his evidence is the passage about Marcion in the 1st Apology, which he proceeds to quote as if it came from the (lost) treatise expressly directed against Marcion¹: and then he speaks vaguely of other writings, including an apology to Antoninus Pius and the Roman Senate, and gives the words of the opening address, which we have already discussed. A couple of pages more bring us to the reign of M. Aurelius and the martyrdoms of St Polycarp, Pionius, and others who suffered at Pergamus. He goes on to refer to this time the death of Justin caused by the machinations of Crescens, after the presentation of a second petition "to the rulers mentioned before," that is, M. Aurelius and L. Verus (see iv. 14 *sub fin.*). Tatian's expressions about Crescens are next quoted, and then Justin's narrative of the events which gave occasion to the shorter Apology. And

διετυπωσάμην χρονικοῖς κανόσιν ἐπιτομὴν κατεστησάμην. Πληρεστάτην δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὤρμηθην τὴν ἀφήγησιν ποιήσασθαι (i. 1).

¹ "Ὅς δὴ καὶ γράψας κατὰ Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα μνημονεύει ὡς καθ' ὃν συνέταττε καιρὸν γνωριζομένου τῷ βίῳ τῶνδρος. Φησὶ δὲ οὕτως· Μαρκίωνα δὲ τινα Ποντικὸν κ.τ.λ. These words surely fix on Eusebius the stupid blunder attributed to him in the text. So also Nicephorus understood them, for he paraphrases them thus (*H. E.* iv. 6): ἕτερον δὲ καὶ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ συντάττει

βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ταῦτα διέξεισι. Μαρκίωνα δὲ τινα Ποντικὸν κ.τ.λ. (The quotation is changed in form, being interpolated into a list of Justin's writings taken from Eusebius, iv. 18.) The wily editor Fronton Le Duc calmly translates: "Liber contra Marcionem Ponticum compositus, in quo, sicuti et in oratione ad Antoninum Imperatorem, hæc quoque scribit." The structure of the quotation shews that it cannot possibly have occurred in the lost work as well as in the Apology.

finally (iv. 18) we have a catalogue of Justin's writings, including a memorial to Antoninus Pius and his sons and the Roman Senate¹, and a second to his successor of the same name, Antoninus Verus (M. Aurelius)², the chapter ending with the two (for our purposes) trivial references to Justin by Irenæus already mentioned.

These statements of Eusebius have been generally assumed as the basis of modern investigation, and the other evidence tried or interpreted by their standard. But how stands the case? With the exception of a few unimportant quotations from Tatian and St Irenæus, which we are able to verify for ourselves in their original contexts, Eusebius does not once refer to any authority beyond Justin's own extant writings, nor is there the smallest trace of information derived from other sources³. The natural conclusion is that his statements rest solely on his own inferences from materials which are still in our hands, and on which we are at least as competent to form an opinion as he was. After Scalliger's judgement⁴ there can be no great temerity in questioning his capacity for historical criticism.

¹ To complete Eusebius's references to Justin we may add ii. 13, where the denunciation of Simon Magus is rightly quoted from τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία. The apparent contradiction of the order in iv. 17 has been already noticed, p. 157, n. 1.

² The whole list is curious, as shewing the implicit faith with which Eusebius accepted as genuine every book which he found bearing Justin's name, and the equally implicit faith with which modern critics have trodden in his pious footsteps. The ambiguity of the term "philosopher," and a vague but altogether baseless impression of Justin's learning, have helped to produce this result. To any one who will study Justin's mind by the light of his own genuine works it must appear absolutely incredible that he can have written most of those which Eusebius (and no one else) mentions. If any justification of scepticism were needed here, it might

be found in the heap of other spurious writings which we actually possess under Justin's name. It is necessary to allude to those books seen by Eusebius, because some writers have been induced by their number to assign a needlessly long term of years for Justin's literary activity.

³ [This is not absolutely true. He says (*H. E.* iv. 18) that the scene of the Dialogue with Tryphon, "the most famous of the Hebrews of his time," was Ephesus. The origin of this statement is not known: standing alone as it does, it may not improbably be an inference from something that Eusebius knew about Tryphon from Jewish sources.]

⁴ It is given in answer to St Jerome's praise of Eusebius's learning. *Animadv. in Eus. Chron.* 8. "Si eruditissimus vocandus, quia multa legit, sane nemo illi hanc laudem invidere potest. Sin autem is eruditissimus, qui iudicium cum multa lectione conjunxit, alium potius quam Eusebium producere debuit."

Next in chronological order comes St Epiphanius; but it will be more convenient to deal first with St Jerome, who is but a little later. The great Latin Father has two passages bearing on our subject. One is from the *Ep.* (70 Vall.) *ad Magnum*, c. 4, where he marshals a goodly array of Christian writers who had not thought it wrong to drink deep of heathen learning. "Quem" [Aristidem] "imitatus postea Justinus et ipse Philosophus Antonino Pio et filiis ejus Senatuique librum contra gentiles tradidit defendens ignominiam crucis et resurrectionem Christi tota prædicans libertate." It is rather curious that only one book is mentioned here; but possibly the more practical nature of the shorter Apology seemed to make it less appropriate to the immediate purpose. The second passage is in the memoir of Justin, forming the 23rd chapter of what is usually called the *Libër de Viris Illustribus*, where we read:

"Justinus Philosophus, habitu quoque philosophorum incedens, de Neapoli urbe Palæstinæ, patre Prisco Bacchio, pro religione Christi plurimum elaboravit in tantum ut Antonino quoque Pio et filiis ejus et Senatui librum contra gentes scriptum daret, ignominiamque crucis non erubesceret; et alium librum successoribus ejusdem Antonini M. Antonino Vero et L. Aurelio Commodo."

Ὁ ταῖς ἀληθείαις φιλοσοφώτατος (iv. 16), ἐν φιλοσόφῳ σχήματι πρεσβέων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, [Ἰουστίνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βάκχειου τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαβίας νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης (Just. ap. iv. 12)] καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐναγωνιζόμενος συγγράμμασιν (iv. 11). Ὁ μὲν τις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα καὶ τοὺς τοῦτου παῖδας τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητον προσφωνητικὸς, ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων· ὁ δὲ δευτέραν περιέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν, ἣν πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου αὐτοκράτορος διάδοχόν τε καὶ ὁμώνυμον Ἀντωνῖνον Οὐῆρον (iv. 18). δεῦτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων βιβλίον ἀναδούς τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις ἄρχουσι (iv. 16) [Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ τὸν Εὐσεβῆ κληθέντα . . . Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ Λουκίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαδέχεται (iv. 14)].

No year-dates are given here: but as to the main fact, that the second Apology was presented in the reign of M. Aurelius,

the view of Eusebius is certainly confirmed. The question is,—Is this an independent testimony? The strong resemblance, in both matter and words, between a considerable part of the *Liber de Vir. Ill.* and Eusebius's History has been often noticed; how far such a resemblance exists in the present case the reader may judge for himself by examining the extracts from Eusebius which I have printed in a parallel column. The rest of the chapter follows Eusebius more closely still for every fact that it contains¹. But this is not all. From the delightful letter prefixed to the treatise it appears that St Jerome had been requested by his friend Dexter, a prætorian prefect, to write short memoirs of Christian as Suetonius had done of heathen worthies. Jerome was willing to do his best, but complained that he had none of the advantages enjoyed by Hermippus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus, and Aristoxenus among the Greeks, or Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus, and Suetonius among the Latins. "Sed non mea est et illorum similis conditio: illi enim historias veteres annalesque replicantes potuerunt quasi de ingenti prato non parvam opusculi sui coronam texere. Ego quid aucturus, qui nullum prævium sequens pessimum, ut dicitur, magistrum memetipsum habeo? Quamquam Eusebius Pamphili in decem Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libris maximo nobis adjumento fuerit, et singulorum de quibus scripturi sumus volumina ætates auctorum suorum sæpe testentur." Further on in the letter he apologizes in case he should have omitted to notice any important works of his own contemporaries, on the ground that "in hoc terrarum angulo," in his cell at Bethlehem, he was far removed from the commerce of letters. There can therefore be little doubt that his testimony adds no weight to the private opinions of Eusebius, whose case is not much strengthened if we suppose Justin's own writings to have been likewise in St Jerome's hands; but on that supposition it would be hard to understand how it comes to pass that the only other allusion to Justin in his writings is that already quoted from the letter to Magnus, written five years later, likewise from Bethlehem, and reproducing one of the very phrases used here². St Jerome has been sometimes abused as a mere

¹ It has been observed that the chapter on Justin is immediately preceded by that on Hegesippus: this is easily explained by the occurrence of

the same order in Eusebius, iv. 8, where he notices together the Christian writers who had mentioned Antinous.

² "Defendens ignominiam crucis,"

copyist for these unlucky memoirs, and of course Mr Shepherd pronounces them wholly or mainly a forgery. If regarded as a work of research, they certainly are not worthy of the author of the Commentary on Dāniel; but they ought in fairness to be considered as hasty sketches thrown off at the request of a friend in a few weeks with the aid of such books as Jerome chanced to possess himself, or at least could use at Jerusalem. This supposition will save the credit of a great scholar, but it will not give value to his testimony as to the date of Justin.

We now come to St Epiphanius, whose account of Tatian's career it will be necessary to extract in full (i. 390, 1 Colon.)¹. Τατιανός τις ἀνέστη, τούτους [τούς Σεουηριανούς] διαδεξάμενος, ἦτοι κατὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν χρόνους ὧν ἡ μετ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς κενοφωνίας διδασκαλίαν προστησάμενος. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, οἷα δὴ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων παιδείας ὑπάρχων, συνακμάζει Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, ἀνδρὶ ἀγίῳ καὶ φίλῳ Θεοῦ, τῷ ἀπὸ Σαμαρειτῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότι. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἰουστίνος Σαμαρεΐτης †ὦν†² τὸ γένος, εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκῶς, καὶ μεγάλως ἐξασκηθεὶς, ἀρετῆς τε βίον ἐνδειξάμενος, τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρήσας, τελείου στεφάνου καταξιούται ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ Ῥωστικῷ ἡγεμόνος καὶ Ἀδριανῷ βασιλέως, ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ὑπάρχων ἐν καθεστῶσῃ ἡλικίᾳ³. Τούτῳ ὁ προειρημένος Τατιανὸς συνακμάσας τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς φερόμενος καὶ τῇ πίστει ἐρρωμένος ἐτύγχανεν, ὅσον ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ Μάρτυρι· ὅτε δὲ ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστίνος ὁ ἅγιος, ὥσπερ τυφλὸς χειραγωγούμενος, ὑπὸ τοῦ χειραγωγοῦ †καταλειφθεὶς καὶ†⁴ ἐπὶ κρημνὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐκδύς διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ τύφλωσιν, καταφέρεται ἀνεπισχέτως ἕως εἰς θάνατον κατενεχθεὶς, οὕτω καὶ αὐτός.

Καὶ ἦν μὲν Ξύρος τὸ γένος, ὡς ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσα γνῶσις περιέχει. Τὸ

"ignominiamque crucis non erubesceret." The other phrase in the *Ep. ad Magnum* not copied from Eusebius, "et resurrectionem Christi tota prædicans libertate," if not a mere inference from the passages of Justin given by Eusebius, may very well be due to the notice of Justin's doctrine of the resurrection which we know was taken by St Methodius (Phot. *Bibl.* 298 a 37—41 Bek.), with whose treatise St Jerome was certainly acquainted (*De Vir. Ill.* 83) without favour of Eusebius; for, as is well known, that respectable historian does not once mention him.

¹ It would be only wasting space to

give the emendations of this passage, chiefly by transposition, proposed by Papebroche (*Acta Sanctorum* for April 13, p. 105) and others.

² So we must read for ἦν.

³ For the exact meaning of this phrase compare PseudoPlato, *Ep.* iii. 316 a. Δίωκος... ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ὅτος μέση τε καὶ καθεστηκυῖα.

⁴ So I would read for καταλειφθεὶς καὶ καταλειφθεὶς: Petau merely proposes to insert εἰ before τυφλός, which mends matters very little: καταλειφθεὶς was probably written in the margin of some MS. as a correction of καταλειφθεὶς and then slipped into the text as an addition.

δὲ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλείων προσετήσατο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐν τῇ Μίση τῶν ποταμῶν ὥς περὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος Ἀντονίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Καίσαρος ἐπικληθέντος. Ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γὰρ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰουστίνου τελείωσιν διελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἀποτολῆς μέρη, καὶ ἐκεῖσε διατρίβων, κακῇ διανοίᾳ περιπεσὼν αἰωνάς τινας κατὰ τοὺς μύθους Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ ἀρχάς τινας καὶ προβολὰς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσηγήσατο. (What follows relates to the fate of his doctrine in later times).

Passing over the opening words¹, we are told that Justin was martyred at the age of 30, when Rusticus was ἡγεμὼν, in the reign of Hadrian; that while he lived Tatian consorted with him² and remained firm in the faith, but fell away upon his death. Epiphanius next mentions Tatian's country, on the authority of such information as had reached him³, and then refers the foundation of his school in Mesopotamia to about the twelfth year of Antoninus Pius, (i. e. A. D. 149 or 150, according as we do or do not reckon the year of accession); for, says our author, after Justin's death he passed from Rome to the East, fixed his residence there, and introduced his partly borrowed partly original heresy. Here is undoubtedly a great difficulty. St Epiphanius first refers Justin's death to Hadrian's reign, and then places the foundation of Tatian's school in the twelfth year of his successor. Accordingly with very few exceptions the critics refuse to build anything upon this latter date: what possible credence, they ask, can be given to an author so stupid and confused as to say that Justin died in Hadrian's reign? It

¹ The word *διαδεξιμέρος* does not refer to order of time but of doctrine, as often in Epiphanius. Nor are the next words of any use to us, for the Severiani themselves are here as elsewhere equally indeterminate in date, and they in their turn are placed by Epiphanius in much the same relation to the school of Apelles the disciple of Marcion, who, as we learn from Theodoret (*Hæc. Fab.* i. 25), was assailed by Justin as well as his master. If these "successions," which mean little more than the *διαδοχαὶ* of Antisthenes and others, are worth anything, they prove only that the Encratites founded by Tatian were intermediate in time between Marcion and the Montanists; which has never been doubted.

² Such, I think, must be the meaning of *συνακμάζει* here (and below); for the reason given for the fact, namely congeniality of pursuits. (*οἷα δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων παιδείας ὑπάρχων* and *Ἰουστ. τῷ φιλοσόφῳ*), makes no sense with the common meaning "was contemporary with." But I have no better authority to give than a very doubtful passage of St Hippolytus, *Adv. Hæc.* vii. 28: *Σατορνείλος δὲ τις συνακμάσας τῷ Βασιλείδῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον... ἐδογμάτισε τοιαῦτα ὅποια καὶ Μένανδρος*. Possibly *συναλλάττει* may be the true reading.

³ The phrase in the original has an odd sound, but the meaning can hardly be mistaken.

would certainly be stupid in us, who possess good evidence to the contrary in Justin's own writings: but what right have we to assume that he had these or any other equally conclusive means of testing the truth of his statement¹? This is, I believe, the only passage in which he alludes to Justin², and here he introduces him as a stranger; nor, but for two allusions, should we have supposed that he had any acquaintance whatever with Eusebius's History³. Obviously, in pursuing his own tracks of research, he neglected such "standard" Ante-Nicene writers as were not, like SS. Irenæus and Hippolytus, directly useful for his purpose. But Epiphanius is charged with making an error as to the relative as well as the absolute date of Justin: in one place he says that Tatian left Rome on Justin's death and apparently at once fell into heresy, and likewise that he set up his sect at a certain date; in another, that Justin's death took place at a time which we see must have been at least twelve years before that

¹ [Volkmar (p. 420) adopts Semisch's theory (*Stud. u. Krit.* for 1835, p. 942) that Epiphanius, reading in the Acts that Justin suffered under Rusticus, and finding a Rusticus consul under Hadrian in 119, assumed that reign as the time of martyrdom; and then guessed that he died at the age of 30, because he knew him to belong to the second century! It is quite probable that Epiphanius and the Acts drew from a common traditional source, by no means probable that Epiphanius knew only the Acts. There is 'not the faintest indication of date throughout the Acts. My own suspicion (of course it cannot be more) is that they or rather their source did refer the martyrdom to Hadrian's time, perhaps misled by the name of Rusticus; but that the other particulars given in them and in Epiphanius are very probably true. But I build nothing whatever upon them. It is the advocates of a later date who are fond of appealing to Rusticus. The weary discussion about him is necessary only to prove that even on their own ground they can get no sure footing. The real value of Epiphanius for our

purpose lies wholly in his information about Tatian, which seems to me absolutely independent of his information about Justin.]

² Unless any one chooses to allege the corresponding passage in the *Anacephaleosis* (ii. 143 D), which it may be advisable to annex, and so obviate all cavil. *Tatianol.* Τατιανὸς οὗτος συνέβλωσε μὲν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ μάρτυρι τῷ ἁγίῳ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ φιλοσόφου Ἰουστίνου τελευτὴν προσεφθάρη τοῖς τοῦ Μαρκίωνος δόγμασι ἑμαρτηθεὶς τῷ αὐτῷ ἐδογμάτισε, καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα παρ' ἐκείνου. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας ὀρμᾶσθαι.

³ *Panar.* xxix. 4, p. 119 B; lxvi. 21, p. 638 c. Epiphanius seems likewise not to have used Eusebius's treatises against Marcellus in his account of the Marcellian heresy (i. 833, 844). Indeed his fastidious orthodoxy would have made him little inclined to dwell on the writings, had he known them, of a man who could condescend to be Constantine's tool in the disgraceful attempt to crush St Athanasius at the Synod of Tyre; as described by himself (i. 723).

date. The cavil refutes itself: with all his faults, Epiphanius was far too clear-headed not to see so extremely obvious a result. I cannot doubt that he saw it perfectly well, and made his view consistent with itself by supposing Tatian to have spent the interval of above twelve years in heresy, but not to have founded his own διδασκαλείον till the expiration of that period¹. Such a view is quite natural in itself: we have good reason to doubt its truth from other evidence; but once more I must protest against the implied assumption that our author's circle of information was exactly coincident with our own. So much for Epiphanius's "stupidity." Now for his facts. It is highly probable that he has here made use of two different accounts. His simile of the precipice seems to wind up the first, and then he starts afresh with an allusion to the γνώσις that had reached him. It should likewise be noted that the dating of the second account is by the year of the emperor, of the first by a subordinate ἡγεμονία, the reign being merely mentioned. What year is denoted by the ἡγεμονία of Rusticus it is unfortunately impossible to say with any certainty. He is the magistrate who appears in the Acts of Justin's Martyrdom, and is there called ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἑπαρχος and ὁ ἑπαρχος, that is, we may say with tolerable certainty, *praefectus urbi*². Now we know that according to the purpose of

¹ That Epiphanius at least tried to conceive the relative chronology of heresies appears from a passage in the next book, Οὗτοι γάρ, the Montanists, γεγόνασι περὶ τὸ ἑνεακαίδεκατον ἔτος Ἀρτωνίου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, μετὰ Ἀδριανόν· καὶ ὁ Μαρκίων δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Τατιανὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενοι Ἐγκρατῖται ἐν χρόνῳ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ μετὰ Ἀδριανόν.

I have taken the most unfavourable view in the text. But after all it is quite possible, considering how much Epiphanius needs emendation, that Ἀδριανοῦ may be a false reading for Ἀρτωνίου. Another solution of the difficulty is suggested by a Nubian inscription, where *Hadrianus* must mean Antoninus Pius, as Niebuhr shews (*Kleine Hist. u. Phil. Schr.* ii. 195, 6), pointing out the fact that *Hadrianus* often appears in his titles during the

early years of his reign; and in a letter to P. Sacratius (*Opp. t. ii. p. 421* Frotsch.) Muret writes, "Sic aliquoties in libris Juris Civilis nomine Hadriani constat intelligendum esse Antoninum." But even if respectable authority could be adduced for its standing *alone* to denote Antoninus Pius, the constant usage of St Epiphanius himself puts such an interpretation out of the question.

² Corsini (*De praef. urb.* pp. 9, 12) produces two or three passages from Dionysius in which the word is used of the old city prefects, who performed certain duties of the consuls in their absence; and (105—107) shews that under Caracalla a man, who is called in Dion Cassius *πεπολιαρχηκότα* and in a Roman inscription *PRÆF. VRB.*, appears in a Greek inscription as ΕΠΙΛΑΡΧΟΝ ΡΩΜΗΣ. He does not mention that three times in

the institution no one could obtain this office until he had served as consul¹. When therefore we find a Rusticus consul in 119 and a Q. Junius Rusticus consul in 162, we might naturally infer that the prefectship, about which we are inquiring, fell not very long after one or other of these dates. Further, when we find in the Digest² a rescript from M. Aurelius and L. Verus,—written therefore between 161 and 169, the year of Verus's death,—which speaks of "Junium Rusticum [amicum] nostrum Præfectum Urbis," we might be disposed at once to fix on 163—9

Herodian (ii. 6. § 12; vii. 10. § 7; viii. 8. § 8) *ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως* is used apparently in this sense. This usage may perhaps be derived from the resemblance in name to the *præfectus prætorio*, who was usually called *ἐπαρχος* or *ὑπαρχος*; see Valois on Eus. *V. Const.* ii. 46; iv. 1. There is no doubt that the terms *ἐπαρχος* and *ὑπαρχος* were much confused in writing, and apparently also in usage; so that two passages of Lydus quoted by Niebuhr may be applicable here: *εἶτα προεστήσατο τὸν τῆς πόλεως φύλακα ὑπαρχον δὲ αὐτὸν νῦν προσαγορεύομεν ἢ (ὡς τινες) πολλαρχον ἢ ἀστυδίκην, ὃν πάλαι πραιτωρα οὐρβανὸν ἔλεγον* (*De Mens.* i. 19): *ὁ γὰρ μὴν ὑπαρχος τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττε, custos urbis προσαγορεύομενος ὡσαύτῃ φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως* (*De Magistr.* i. 38). But the common word, as constantly in Dion, appears to be *πολλαρχος*, which does not occur in Herodian, if Irmisch's exhaustive indices may be trusted. Of *ἡγεμὼν* in this sense Corsini (pp. xxvii, 160) gives no better instance than *παρεπέμφθη Μαγνητίῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι*, "in Græco Basilii Synaxario," where there is but little reason to fix on one office more than another. Dionysius (*A. R.* vi. 13), speaking of the battle of the lake Regillus, appears to mean the city warden by *τοῦ καταλειφθέντος τῆς πόλεως ἡγεμόνος*. I have not been able to find any other authorities. The word *ἡγεμὼν* is badly treated in all the lexicons. Probably, when it denotes an office, it is the Greek translation of *praeses*, of which the fol-

lowing account is given by Macer, *De officio præsidis* (in the Digest, i. xviii. 1): "Præsidis nomen generale est, eoque et Proconsules et Legati Caesaris et omnes provincias regentes, licet Senatores sunt, Præsides appellantur; Proconsulis appellatio specialis est."

¹ See especially Tacitus's rapid summary (*Ann.* vi. 11) of the history of the office from its original glory in regal and early consular days (when the name *custos urbis* was the usual one, Nieb. *R. H.* i. 515, 6; ii. 111—124) through the shadowy *præfectura feriarum Latinarum* of the late consular period, till the time when Augustus more than restored its dignity ("sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret," &c.) See also the famous speech of Mæcenas in Dion (lii. 21), and a yet clearer testimony from the outcry raised at a violation of the rule in the time of Macrinus early in the 3rd century (lxxviii. 14); and several cases adduced by Corsini tend the same way. But it must be confessed that hardly any traces of the observation of the rule are to be found in a catalogue of city prefects, published (from Boucher) in the apparatus to the *Chronicon Paschale* (t. ii. p. 194 Bonn.); though on the other hand this testimony is only remotely inferential for our purpose, as the list begins with the year 254.

² xlix. i. 1. § 3; quoted by Corsini, p. 81, who however wrongly gives 171 as the year of L. Verus's death. The word *amicum* is not in the original hand of the Codex Florentinus.

as our approximate date. And in the absence of better evidence to the contrary we might be justified in so doing. But a little further information shews the precariousness of these tempting speculations. There is no reason to doubt that the honorary office of *consul suffectus*, which was now in full vogue, was as valid a qualification for the city prefecture as that of *consul ordinarius*, and it is only now and then that we hear the names of *consules suffecti*. Moreover Junius Rusticus, the favourite Stoic preceptor of M. Aurelius, is expressly described as having been consul (Capit. *M. Ant. Phil.* 3)¹; and it is at least not unreasonable to identify him with Q. Junius Rusticus, the consul of 162, who according to one authority was then consul for the second time; and yet only one consulship that can by any possibility be referred to him occurs in the *Fasti*². On the other hand earlier bearers of the name cannot be considered out of the question. Junius Rusticus Arulenus, the friend of Thræsea Pætus and like him one of the noblest victims of the reign of terror under Domitian, left a family who were educated by his brother Junius Mauricus, the friend of Pliny the younger (*Epp.* i. 14; ii. 18; vi. 14). One of the sons was probably Rusticus the *consul ordinarius*

¹ "Cui etiam ante præfectos prætorio semper osculum dedit: quem et consulem iterum designavit: cui post obitum a senatu statuas postulavit." (See also Themistius, *Or.* xvii. p. 215 Hard.) These words imply either that the Stoic was twice consul, once under M. Aurelius and once before his reign; or that death intervened before he had actually entered on the office a second time. The former is the more probable explanation. This is doubtless the "ille meus Rusticus romanus" of Fronto *Ep. ad Ant.* i. 2, p. 145 Mai. ed. 1823; and it is possible that the epithet *romanus* may be intended to distinguish him from some other Rusticus well known to the emperor and his fawning correspondent; at least I can think of no other meaning.

² 'Ρουστικός τὸ β' καὶ 'Ακουλίνος is the entry for 162 in a list of consuls published by Dodwell at the end of his *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ* and appended to the *Chronicon Paschale* (ii. 174 Bonn.)

The interval of time makes it hardly conceivable that the β' can refer back to the consulship of 119; especially as the true (not accidental) beginning of the list is at the year 138 (Dodwell, *App.* 17, 18). The Idatian list (post *Chron. Pasch.* ii. 162 Bonn.) has *Rufino* for *Rustico* at 162, but probably by a mere error of transcription: it has *Rustico* at 119.

³ Haakh notices an inscription in Gruter (*Theas.* p. 131. n. 3) in which a Q. Junius Rusticus is mentioned, as a *consul suffectus*, he says, because the date is the Kalends of July. If now we identify the consul of 162 with the Stoic, and suppose him to have been *consul suffectus* under Antoninus Pius (see note 1), the accounts will all run smoothly: and, as his name would not appear in the *Fasti* on the first occasion, we can easily understand why only one of the lists mentions his double consulate.

of 119, himself perhaps the father of the Stoic. The similarity of name suggests that possibly his brother or cousin was Junius Mauricianus, whose name occurs twice in the Pandects as a legal author, and who at least survived the elder Faustina (*Dig.* xxxi. 1. 57). Either of these persons may easily be the city prefect of whom we are in search, provided at least that Justin's death took place moderately early in the reign of Antoninus Pius¹. Finally an examination of the inscriptions belonging to this period will shew that the name of Rusticus was far from uncommon². We must therefore relinquish the attempt to obtain any certain evidence from the mention of Rusticus, remembering at the same time that the name occurs in at best but secondary authorities³.

The other account given by St Epiphanius furnishes a posterior limit. On the supposition of its truth Justin's death cannot have taken place later than 149, and is not likely to have taken place very much earlier⁴.

¹ For the genealogical matter I am indebted to an excellent article by Haakh in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopedie*, vi. 584.

² Corsini (78, 79) produces an inscription containing P. LVCILIVS RVSTICVS V. C. PRAEFECTVS VRBI, and suggests that possibly he may be the Rusticus who is said to have put Justin to death. Likely enough; but the inscription gives us no clue to the date, not even the century: nor can we tell whether he is the Publius who figures in the *Acta S. Felicitatis*.

³ The Greek Acts of Justin's Martyrdom bear the name of Symeon Metaphrastes. It can hardly be doubted that they are among the earlier documents which he adopted with little or no change among his own compositions, but it would be unsafe to dogmatise about their date. If the opening words are not due to a subsequent hand, as Baronio and others after him have too hastily concluded, the Church must have emerged from persecution before they were written. On the other hand the comparative simplicity points to an

early origin. Perhaps the second half of the third century is the most probable date.

⁴ In discussing this important passage, I have confined myself to considerations arising out of the text itself, not being now prepared to examine the credibility of the author and his sources generally. But it would be wrong to disguise my conviction that hard measure has been dealt out to Epiphanius by ecclesiastical scholars. His shallowness and bigotry as a theologian (aided perhaps by a recollection of his extraordinary conduct to St Chrysostom) have unjustly depreciated the pragmatical value of his writings. We owe much to his genuine spirit of research, which the mere inquisitiveness of Eusebius could never have procured for us. His judgement is far inferior to his learning, but still by no means to be despised. Above all, he has made abundant use of many invaluable records now lost. And it should be remembered that, next to heretico-zoology, chronology was perhaps his favourite pursuit.

We now pass over almost five centuries, and arrive at Photius. The 125th article of his *Bibliotheca* begins thus: Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἔτι ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ πραγματεία κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως κ.τ.λ. To this last work (probably the spurious *Refutatio dogmatum Aristotelis*) Photius adds another which may be some or all of the equally spurious *Quæstiones* and *Responsa* still extant. Next follows, as usual, a brief description of Justin's literary character and style. Then he proceeds:

PHOTIUS.

Τέσσαρας δὲ πραγματείας κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνέταξεν ὧν τὴν μὲν πρώτην Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ ἐπίκλῳ Πίῳ καὶ τοῖς υἱέσι τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ ἐπέδωκε,

τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐκείνου διαδόχοις·

ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ περὶ φύσεως δαιμόνων διελεκεται·

ὁ δὲ τέταρτος αὐτῷ λόγος, ὁμοίως κατὰ ἐθνῶν συγκείμενος, Ἐλεγχος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει·

ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας,

καὶ ὁ ἐπιγραφόμενος Ψάλτης,

καὶ μὴν [καὶ] κατὰ Μαρκίωνος ἀναγκαῖοι λόγοι,

καὶ ἡ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων χρησῖμος πραγματεία,

Οὗτος υἱὸς μὲν ἔφυ Πρίσκου Βακχείου,

πατρίδα δὲ εἶχε Νεάπολιν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν τελοῦσαν Παλαιστίνης,

ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὰς διατριβάς ἔσχε,

SOPHRONIUS.

ὥστε καὶ Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ ἐπίκλῳ Πίῳ καὶ τοῖς τοῦτου υἱέσι καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ βίβλον κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνταγεῖσαν ἐπιδοῦναι, ...

καὶ ἄλλην βίβλον τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίνου διαδόχοις, ...

Ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη αὐτοῦ βίβλος κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν ᾗ περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῶν δαιμόνων διαλέγεται,

καὶ τέταρτον λόγον ὁμοίως κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὃν ἐπέγραψεν Ἐλεγχος,

καὶ ἄλλον περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μοναρχίας

καὶ ἄλλον ὠνόμασε Ψάλτην,

καὶ ἕτερον περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Διάλογον κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν ἔχει κατὰ Τρύφωνος ἀρχηγοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος ἐπίσημα τεύχη,...

Καὶ ἄλλη βίβλος κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων...

Οὗτος [ἐκ πατρὸς Πρίσκου Βακχείου,]

[ἀπὸ τῆς Νεαπολιτῶν ἐπαρχίας Παλαιστίνης,]

ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔχων τὰς διατριβάς,

PHOTIUS.

φιλοσοφῶν καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ
τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι·

διάπυρος δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὃν ἔρασαν
τῆς ἔσχε Κρίσκην ἕνα τινὰ τῶν καλου-
μένων Κυριακῶν ἀντιπολιτευόμενον αὐτῷ
[-τοῦ ?] καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ θρησκείᾳ·
ὑφ' οὗ καὶ συσκευασθεὶς ἀξίως τῆς
ὁλῆς τοῦ βίου προαιρεσέως καὶ τὴν
ἐπιβουλὴν συνδιέθηκε· μαρτυρίου γὰρ
ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ἐνστησάμενος, λαμ-
πρῶς καὶ χαίρων τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ
θάνατον ἀνεδέξατο.

SOPHRONIUS.

[φιλόσοφος καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῶν
φιλοσόφων χρώμενος]

εὐθύμων Κρήσκη τὸν Κυριακόν, τὸν
κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βλασφημοῦντα,
καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν λαίμαργον, καὶ τὸν
θάνατον φοβούμενον, ἄσπῳτὸν τε καὶ
ἀκόλαστον, τέλος τῇ τούτου ἐνεργείᾳ
καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ ὡς Χριστιανὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἔπαθεν. (ap. S. Hieron.
Opp. ii. 864, 6 Vall. 1767.)

We are here told that one Apology was presented to Antoninus Pius, his sons, and the senate; and another to his successors. But what is the authority for the statement? It will be observed that Photius speaks of *reading* three books¹, one of them apparently the larger Apology. Upon these he founds his account of Justin's style. He then appends a list of Justin's other works, and a short biography. He does not say that he had read or even seen any of them. It is necessary to insist on this point, because it is commonly assumed that Photius had read all the books named in his *Bibliotheca*, (a monument of sufficient labour for the leisure hours of one embassy, one would have thought, without any gratuitous additions); whereas there is really no ground for supposing him to have known more than the names in the supplemental lists which he occasionally subjoins. In the present case I hope to be able to show the origin of every statement that he makes in what I will venture to call his appendix. If the reader will be at the pains to compare the two parallel columns printed above, of which that on the right hand is taken from the Greek translation of St Jerome's book *De Viris Illustribus* made by an otherwise unknown Sophronius, he will find that Photius has done scarcely more than condense Sophronius, retaining all the more remarkable words².

¹ It is not clear whether the replies to Aristotle make up one or more treatises.

² When Sophronius's translation was first published by Erasmus, a suspicion was spread abroad that the editor was

likewise the author. It is certainly a curious fact that no MSS. have ever been seen by any one, except perhaps (according to his own vague account) Le Moine. And, in spite of the dis-

As if to make the coincidence more striking, the words *ἐπίκλην, ὁμοίως* (ὁμ. κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν), and *ἐπαρχίας* have nothing corresponding to them in the original Latin of St Jerome¹. The result is obvious. Photius cannot be quoted as an additional witness for the late date of the 2nd Apology. He copied Sophronius, who translated Jerome, who compiled from Eusebius, who misunderstood Justin.

The statement in the *Chronicon Paschale* (258 Duc.) is taken much more directly from Eusebius, for the most part in his very words. Under the consulate of Orphitus and Pudens (A.D. 165)² it relates that Justin, having presented a second petition to M. Aurelius and Verus, was shortly afterwards³ martyred on the accusation of Crescens. It is not clear which of the two occurrences,—perhaps both,—is intended to be referred to this year. But the matter is of little consequence, as there is not a trace of any authority having been used except Eusebius⁴.

The brief notices of Zonaras are in like manner altogether condensed from Eusebius. His only chronological statements are, that in Hadrian's reign Justin was converted to Christianity (*Ann.* xi. 24)⁵, that he presented an apology to Antoninus Pius

covery of coincidence with several articles of Suidas, the imputation of possible forgery has rested on Erasmus to the present day. The following observation of Pearson (*Vind. Ign.* ii. 9, p. 495 Churt.) seems to have been generally overlooked. "Erat autem Sophronii versio Græcis sequentium sæculorum probe cognita. Suidas eum sæpissime transcribit: et ante Suidam Photius eundem cognovisse deprehenditur." He gives an instance from the article on St Clement of Rome in a note printed in this Journal, i. 404.

¹ An exception may be found in the words *ἀναγκαῖοι λόγοι*, which are substituted for the literal but outlandish *ἐπίσημα τεύχη* (*insignia volumina*). Also the final notice of Justin's martyrdom is expanded into a peroration of truly Photian grandiloquence. A more serious difference is the absence of all notice of the book *περὶ ψυχῆς* and the Dialogue with Tryphon; possibly due to acci-

dental omission by either Photius or some of his transcribers. All the MSS. hitherto collated contain unquestionable lacunæ in other places.

² The definiteness of the year proves nothing. Such a *chronicler* as this, accepting from Eusebius's History the reference to M. Aurelius's reign, was compelled to notice the event under some year or other.

³ οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ. Dindorf's note throws doubt on the otherwise obvious alteration οὐ μετὰ πολὺ.

⁴ [The passages are given in parallel columns by Volkmar (p. 443); this and the extract from Epiphanius being the only testimonies subsequent to Eusebius which he has discussed. The debts of the *Chronicon Paschale* to Eusebius are pretty generally acknowledged.]

⁵ This would be inferred from the fact that the first considerable notice of him in Eusebius occurs in the narrative of Hadrian's reign.

(xii. 1), and that he suffered martyrdom under M. Aurelius (xii. 3). A similar statement to this last is also made in the *Chronography* of Nicephorus (p. 747 Bonn.).

Two sentences of Syncellus (i. 662, 663 Dind.) are transcribed from Eusebius's *Chronicle*, and are identical with those already given at pp. 168, 9. Both are placed between Syncellus's years of the world 5630 and 5638, that is¹, A.D. 138 and 146.

At length Cedrenus breaks the tedious succession. In his summary of Hadrian's reign (i. 438 Bonn.) occurs the following sentence: 'Ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος κατὰ πασῶν αἵρέσεων ἠρρίζετο· ὡς γὰρ φησι Κλήμης ὁ στρωματεύς, ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ ὑπῆρχον αἵρεσιῶτα, ἐχθροὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως, Σατορνίνος Βασιλείδης καὶ Καρποκράτης. At first sight this looks like an allusion, as Potter supposes, to a passage of the *Stromata* (vii. 17. p. 898 Pott.), well known for its perplexities of text; but there is no mention of Carpo- crates there: and moreover the next paragraph, devoted to Antoninus Pius, has a still more refractory citation from St Clement: ὡς φησι δὲ Κλήμης, ὅτι 'Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεντίνος καὶ Κέρδων καὶ Μαρκίων ἐν 'Ρώμῃ αἵρεσιάρχαι ἐγνωρίζοντο, καὶ Τατιανὸς καὶ Βαρδισάνης καὶ Πρίσκυλλα καὶ Μαξιμίλλα αἱ ψευδοπροφήτιδες τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίας ἐγνωρίζοντο. Now Bardesanes and these Cataphrygian prophetesses are not mentioned at all by name in St Clement's extant works, though he does promise (*Strom.* iv. 13. p. 605 Pott.) to enter into the Phrygian controversy in a future work on Prophecy; and further the form of the sentence implies an actual quotation²: so that Cedrenus probably refers in both cases to a lost work, perhaps the *Hypotyposes*. It is not impossible therefore that the concluding words of the section on Antoninus Pius,—ἐπὶ τούτου Πολύκαρπος ὁ μαθητὴς Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθου ἐμαρτύρησαν,—may rest likewise on Clement's authority. But this is mere conjecture³.

¹ According to Mr Clinton's adjustment of Syncellus's years of the world, *F. R.* i. 327.

² The asyntactical use of *ὅτι*, where we should employ inverted commas, though by no means unknown to the best authors, becomes much more frequent and more fearless in late Greek.

³ We have no means of judging how far the chronicler mentioned by Pearson

(*De Succ.* ii. 14, § 1) should be considered a *bona fide* independent authority. "Apud Chronographum veterem MS. quem mihi commodavit Vir eruditissimus Isaacus Vossius hæc legi. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀδριανὸν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀντωνίνος ἐτη κβ', ἐφ' οὗ Πολύκαρπος ὁ μαθητὴς Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐμαρτύρησαν."

Once more, Michael Glycas (*Ann.* iii. p. 449 Bek.) has a similar record: Μετὰ δὲ Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνίνος ὁ διὰ χρηστὸν τρόπον λεγόμενος Εὐσεβὴς ἔτη κβ', ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθου τὸ διὰ μαρτυρίου τέλος ἐδέξαντο.

Suidas deserves no more than a passing word, for his article, as Küster has remarked, is transcribed verbatim from Sophronius.

The reign of Severus witnessed the martyrdom of Justin, if we are to trust the *Hypomnesticon* (140, § 5, in Gallandi, *Bibl. Patr.* xiv. 66) of Josephus, written in 901!

The series of Greek evidence would be incomplete without some notice of the ecclesiastical books. In the *Menologium* or *Martyrology* of Basil (iii. 121, Urbini, 1727), compiled in the ninth century, we find for the 1st of June an ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰουστίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου. Justin, we are told, was a philosopher of Neapolis in Syria, who being converted came to Rome in the reign of Antoninus, wrote a "tome" against idolatry and on behalf of the Christian faith, and presented it to the emperor, who struck with his wisdom not only abstained from slaying him but praised him. Having however by his arguings (διαλέξων) against idolatry excited the ill will of Crescens, he died (ἀντηρίθη) the victim of his machinations. It will be observed that but one Apology and one emperor appear here, though there is nothing absolutely contradictory to a different view. Then follows on the same day another account headed καὶ ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰουστίνου καὶ τῆς συνόδου αὐτοῦ, and beginning abruptly with the words καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διέτριβον. It describes the examination before the prefect (whose name is not given), in language condensed from the existing Acts, and finally his death by beheading. Some light is thrown on this rather perplexing combination by the two corresponding variations prefixed to the prayers in the *Menæa* (Jun. ff. a a II b, III a, Venice, 1626). First, again on June 1, we have the title, Ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰουστίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου; then three verses, of which more presently; then a narrative with occasional coincidences of language with that in the *Menologium*, how Justin of Flavia¹ in Syria, son of Priscus son of Bacchius, came to Rome and presented to the emperor Antonius petitions (λιβέλλους) against idolatry and on behalf of the Christian faith; but having excited the ill will of

¹ The separate use of this name is very singular. Even in combination with Νεάπολις, it is exceptional and almost confined to coins.

Crescens was tortured and put to death: some vague praise of his purity of life, wisdom, and literary productiveness is added. Here again but one emperor is mentioned, though more than one Apology. Then follows what appears to be considered as the commemoration of a different saint, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰουστίνου, Χαρίτωνος, Χαριτοῦς, Εὐελπίστου, Ἰέρακος, Πέωνος, Βαλεριανοῦ. The story is told briefly, Οἱτοὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἤθλησαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ῥουστίκου τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ, καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς βασάνους τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεσπάρησαν; after which we here too have a condensed question and answer from the Acts. It cannot be doubted that all these accounts refer to the true St Justin Martyr; though the same cannot be said of the three curious lines which follow the first title in the Menæa:

Ἰουστίνον κόνειον ἦρεν ἐκ βίου·

Ὡς εἶθε πρῶτον τοὺς πικρὴν δαδάκοτας·

Πρώτη Ἰουνίου ἐλλεβορίζει Ἰουστίνου.

But it is beside our purpose to enter these hagiological labyrinths¹.

Returning to the West, we naturally ask what was the tradition respecting the great Samaritan martyr in the Eternal City where he died, and in the Western Churches which afterwards looked to her with reverence. The history of the Latin Martyrologies is too obscure, and I have too little knowledge of existing investigations on the subject, to admit of any recondite researches here: I can only state a few facts which lie upon the surface. Justin is not commemorated at all in what is called the shorter or older Martyrology (by some supposed to have the best claim to the name *Romanum*²), nor in that of Bede (uninterpolated), nor in that of Hrabanus Maurus. The Martyrologies of Ado (anno 879; p. 20, ed. Rosweyd. Antv. 1613) and Notker (anno 894; in Basnage, *Thes. Mon.* ii. (3) 115) under April 13 have the following account: "Apud Pergamum Asiæ urbem natalis [-ivitas *Notk.*] Sanctorum Carpi episcopi et Papirii diaconi et Agathonicæ optimæ fœminæ aliarumque multarum, quæ probatis confessionibus [pro beatis confessoribus *Notk.*] martyrio coronatæ sunt. Cum quibus et vir mirabilis Justinus *philosophus*, qui

¹ Some materials have been collected by Papebroche in the *Acta Sanctorum* for April 13.

² His name is likewise absent from

the Roman *Depositio Martirum* of the year 354, best given by Mommsen in the *Phil.-Hist. Abh. d. Sächs. Ges.* for 1850, pp. 631—633.

ita quoque philosophorum incedens pro religione Christiana laboravit; in tantum ut Antonino Pio et filiis ejus et librum contra gentes scriptum daret, ignominiamque crudesceret. Cumque jam secundum librum successoribus Imperatoris, id est, Antonino Vero et Aurelio Commodo pro his nostræ defensione porraxisset, remuneratione [read-nem] fidelis martyrii munus accepit." The words here given are taken directly from St Jerome (*De viris illustribus*), we have already seen (p. 173) to have merely compiled Eusebius. All the rest of the article (except the few printed in smaller type¹, some of which answer to synonims words) is taken verbatim from Rufinus's translation of it (*H. E.* iv. 15, 16)². The same authority supplies all materials and many of the characteristic words of the *Margium Romanum* (p. 97, Antv. 1701), except in the case where it seems to have been had to the original text of Eusebius.

The article on Justin in the Martyrology compiled by him in 876 for Charles the Bald (p. 207, ed. Soller. Antv. 1701) is an abridged copy from the *M. Romanum*. Thus it appears, that the Western Martyrologies, so far as they notice Justin, refer his death to the reign of M. Aurelius; secondly, that the sole historical authority is directly or indirectly Eusebius⁴.

no one, I suppose, will think the date of the traditional 'episcopi' and the date of much importance: they ultimately appear in Nicephorus (*H. E.* iii.

observe the progress of error. Eusebius verily and unconscientiously renders κατὰ τοὺς by cum Justin becomes linked to certain Asiatic martyrs, who are incidentally noticed by Eusebius and thus the scene of his martyrdom is transferred from Rome to Asia!

what is to say, the right form (*In persecutione Romæ*) is given to us κατὰ τοὺς mistranslated as cum, which must mean "in the reign of these emperors," the preceding having in *persecutione M. Antonini et Lucii Aurelii Commodi* referred to it. The last few lines of

the preceding chapter in Eusebius are merely an appendix to his long narrative of St Polycarp's death, which is itself immediately preceded (end of iv. 14) by the announcement of the new reign. The correction *Romæ* may come either from τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει in the quotation from Tatian in c. 16, or from ἐπὶ τῇς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως in the heading to the same chapter; which though not by Eusebius himself (for the division of chapters is not his own, as could easily be shewn if there were space here) is of considerable antiquity. The *Mart. Rom.* also interpolates among the martyrs an unknown Agathodorus.

⁴ In many other cases it may be reasonable to inquire how far the records of martyrdoms collected by Eusebius himself may lie at the base of later commemorations. Here we need not go beyond his existing History.

To complete the survey of ancient tradition, we must examine the Latin Chronicles of the middle ages; and the more, because two or three of them have been dragged in of late years as if they afforded important independent testimony. But it should be remembered that their real value almost exclusively belongs to their own and immediately preceding times: as synopses of universal history, either from the creation of the world or from the birth of Christ, they jot down briefly the most interesting dates, but are at the same time the frankest possible compilations. Prosper of Aquitaine (anno 455) copies the two articles of Eusebius's Chronicle (Hieronymic), giving the one to the consulship of Gratus and Seleucus, that is, 142, 144, or 145¹, and the other to that of Tertullus and Sacerdos, that is, 158 (Basnage, *Thes. An.* i. 281, 282). Cassiodorus (anno 519) copies only the first article, assigning it to the same year (*Opp.* i. 388, Garet. Rotomagi, 1679).

If originality is to be looked for anywhere, it is in our own incomparable Bede, who, waiving his higher merits, would have been an honour to any age, whether as regards the width of his learning or the force and freedom of his criticism. The chronicle which forms the sixty-sixth chapter of his larger work *De temporum ratione* gives the principal events of each emperor's reign, without any dates but those of accession². His account of Antoninus Pius begins thus (vi. 305, Giles):

BEDA.

Antoninus cognomento Pius, cum filiis suis Aurelio et Lucio annos XXII, menses III. Justinus Philosophus librum pro Christiana religione compositum Antonino tradidit, *benignumque eum erga Christianos homines fecit*. Qui non longe post suscitante persecutionem

S. HIERONYMUS (ed. Pont.)

Had. 21. Romanorum XIII. T. Antoninus cognomento Pius, cum liberis suis Aurelio et Lucio regnavit an. 23 [22 *codd. multi*] mensibus 3.

A. P. 3. Justinus philosophus librum pro nostra religione conscriptum Antonino tradidit.

¹ Gratus and Seleucus really belong to 221, but must here denote 144 or 145, as estimated by the consuls whom they precede; 142, by their order of years of the reign. See Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 186; Mommsen, *l. c.* 661.

² Some confusion appears in (at least) the printed text of these dates; so that at the period of the Antonines the year given for the accession of each emperor really belongs to that of his successor.

BEDA.

nte Cynico pro Christo
nem fudit¹.

S. HIERONYMUS.

A. P. 13. Crescens Cynicus
agnoscitur, qui Justino nostri
dogmatis philosopho, quia se
gulosum et prævaricatorem phi-
losophiæ coarguebat, persecu-
tionem suscitavit, in qua ille
gloriose pro Christo sanguinem
fudit.

omparison with the Hieronymic version of Eusebius's Chro-
shews that Bede has merely combined into one and cond-
the separate articles on Justin, adding only the words in
1, which appear to give the sense of the remark appended
Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 12) to his extract from the first Apology².
9 Ado (*Bibl. Pat.* ii. 342, Paris 1624) copied Bede verbatim,
ut a date. So also Romualdus of Salerno in 1177 (*Mura-*
Script. It. vii. 61). Regino wrote in 906 (*Pertz. Mon. Hist.*
. Script. i. 544), making much use of the Hieronymic Chro-

Under Antoninus Pius he has merely "Justinus philosophus
;" under M. Aurelius, "Horum et supra dictorum tempor-
orinati sunt...apud Pergamum Asiæ urbem Carpus philoso-
Papius diaconus, et Justinus philosophus;" in short, the
ance of Rufinus's assertion. But under Commodus he
his readers against relying too much on his indication of
ular reigns³. In 1054 Herimann (*Pertz. l. c. v. 76*) affixed
e year 140 the following: "Antoninus cognomento Pius per

he printed text adds "sub Pio
episcopo" by a mistake of punc-
1: these words belong to the next
ent, about Hermas and his *Pastor*.
hat Bede was acquainted with
hurch History as well as the
cle of Eusebius appears from the
to the same treatise (vi. 140

Perhaps I have been too hasty
iming that Bede was the first to
e narrative into this particular

But, having carefully examined
Chronicle in Pertz and Muratori,
retty confident that it appears in
ument printed in those vast col-
s antecedent to his date: and

every page of his records of these early
centuries shews marks of his own ori-
ginal criticism.

³ "Hujus temporibus nonnulli passi
sunt quos supra notavimus. Sed idcirco
hæc non per ordinem certis imperatorum
temporibus exprimi potuimus, quia in
quibusdam passionibus sanctorum supra
nominatorum imperatorum vocabula ita
confuse posita sunt, ut, cum dicat rem
sub Antonino gestam, ignoretur utrum
sub Pio aut sub Commodo actum sit,
et, cum dicit sub Lucio, ambiguum sit
utrum sub Aurelio aut sub Antonino
gestum sit." The good abbot's discretion
may atone for his bad Latin.

apologeticum Justini Christiani philosophi et postea martyris edoctus, clemens efficitur nostris," which is surely only a disguised repetition of Bede; and then clumsily adds the two articles abridged from the Hieronymic Chronicle, at 143 and 156. He is avowedly copied by Bernold in 1072 (Pertz. v. 414); and (scarcely varied in year) abridged by the *Annales Mellicenses* in 1123 (Pertz. ix. 486), and Rudbert in 1186 (Pertz. ix. 762). In 1082 Marianus (Pertz. v. 512, 513) copies the Hieronymic Chronicle verbatim about Justin, although he has ecclesiastical information for that period from other sources: he seems to differ in years; but that is because he places Antoninus Pius's accession in 145 instead of 138. Lastly, in 1106 Ekkehard (Pertz. vi. 104, 105) has at Ant. P. 4 half Bede's article, at 14 the Hieronymic article on Crescens, and at 15 a notice of the alleged letter of Antoninus to the communes of Asia, obviously taken directly or indirectly from Eusebius himself (*H. E.* iv. 13). Thus he and he alone is at last responsible for the whole mass of Western tradition respecting Justin.

The results of our review of the traditional evidence may now be stated in few words. Justin's death,—and that, be it remembered, is the main point chronologically attested,—is placed by some under Antoninus Pius (July 138 to March 161), by others under M. Aurelius (March 161 to March 180). The *Chronicon Paschale* alone of the witnesses for a late time gives a definite year, namely 165. But the reign is indicated by a long series of authors beginning with Eusebius, and, as I believe, deriving their information exclusively from him. On the other side we have a much scantier list of names. St Epiphanius distinctly places an event subsequent to Justin's death in 149 or 150: and Cedrenus and Glycas send us back to the reign of Antoninus Pius. Epiphanius's authority is unknown, but there is no reason to suppose it identical with that of Cedrenus (whom Glycas very possibly follows); for the one wrote about Tatian, and the other about Justin. Further, as we have already seen, no less a personage than St Clement may be the source of Cedrenus's account. Thus we have in favour of the reign of Antoninus Pius two distinct traditions, in favour of that of M. Aurelius only the one long Eusebian tail, suspended ultimately not, as far as we can see, from any earlier author or tradition, but from the historian's private interpretation of a passage in Justin's own

nd Apology. To that Apology then we are next sent back e whether there is any evidence respecting it capable of itting the now obvious presumption against a late date for martyrdom. External evidence there is none except the hian catena just discussed. The internal evidence, I have to shew, is conclusive for the reign of Antoninus Pius, and by cuts the first joint or link on which the whole weight of ment for the late date to either Apology or death depends. ts apparent proximity to the First Apology is our only clue narrower determination. Accepting then from Epiphanius or 150 as the posterior, or rather post-posterior, limit of n's life, his first Apology must fall between 138 and that

It is best to place it tolerably near to 148 or 149, where n's rough 150 years from the Nativity are completed; and epithet *ἐπώριον ταδείας* used of L. Verus tends in the same tion. He was fourteen years old on Dec. 15, 144, and fore probably assumed the *toga virilis* at the Liberalia arch 145. This then may be taken as the earliest point at h Justin was likely to address him as he has done. Accord- we may without fear of considerable error set down Jus- first Apology to 145 or better still to 146, and his death to

The second Apology, if really separate from the first, will fall in 146 or 147, and the Dialogue with Tryphon about ame time¹.

The conclusions arrived at in this article will probably sound ge to those who are chiefly conversant with modern text

Volkmar pushes forward his dates rather arbitrary manner. At pp. 54 he says, "Both Apologies belong same year after 140, but also, as s by the longer Apology, not long i. e. about 150 in the strict sense words; the Dialogue not till after hat is, after this *one* apologetic of Justin." It is impossible, he s at p. 466, to fix exactly *how* late 147 the Dialogue was written: was held at Ephesus (which after y only mean that the scene was t Ephesus), and the Apology a at Rome: a departure from and a stay in Asia must there- tervene, and the Dialogue was at

least not written till after 151. The Acts shew that his stay at Rome on his return was long, and he may "very possibly" have been driven thither by the persecutions in Asia in 156-158, under which Meliton wrote. We shall not then, he says, do wrong in more closely determining the Dialogue to about 155, after which Justin might be martyred about 160.

Even on Volkmar's premisses, this is surely a wilfully extreme position for a critic to take up, who has no special purpose to serve; seeing that Antoninus Pius died March 7, 161. But I hope I have succeeded in shewing that much narrower limits may rightly be accepted.]

books. A century and a half or more ago views substantially the same were backed with the weight of names not yet quite forgotten. Pearson was, I believe, the author of the revolt against the Eusebian chronology; and he was followed with greater or less agreement by Dodwell, Massuet, Baratier, and Gallandi. The dark age which succeeded cared nothing for Justin Martyr or his times. That reproach is now partly removed, thanks to the renewed interest in Church History and biblical criticism in Germany and to somewhat different movements in England. Yet the steps which have been taken towards restoring the image of the early Church have been uncertain and few. An immense debt of gratitude is owing to Neander and Schleiermacher for the work which has already been done by themselves or by their scholars: but the kind of criticism associated with the names of Bentley and Pearson has been for the most part neglected by them as dry and unphilosophical, and the result is a chaos of weltering theories. In England the name of Clinton may be allowed to make up for many deficiencies, and the diligence and independence of his labours are above all praise. Unfortunately however he is too apt merely to compare authorities without sifting their individual value; moreover in his ecclesiastical notices he has followed too implicitly the episcopal chronology of Pagi, and thereby his determination of Justin's date is altogether perverted.

It may perhaps be prudent to notice an objection which German if not English critics might naturally be expected to make, founded on the respective policies of the two emperors whose reigns have been the battle field of this article. The undoubted persecutions which took place in the time of M. Aurelius give a plausible colour to the notion that he was essentially a persecutor: and it has now become a theological common-place to extol his character as the perfection of stoical virtue applied to the duties of a ruler, and then demonstrate its necessary hostility to Christianity. On the other hand the mildness of his predecessor's character has been urged as an argument against the probability of his permitting such "unjust" proceedings at Rome as the martyrdom of St Justin. I hope at some future time to be able to discuss more thoroughly the characters and policies of the emperors between Domitian and Commodus. It must suffice for the present to protest against the sentimental fiction of

Aurelius as the model heathen emperor, which has become pted chiefly through the rhetoric of Gibbon, and has lately peared in England out of his pages with new adornments, to h the kingdoms of modern Europe the true art of govern- t. I will yield to no one in admiration for M. Aurelius in ect of much of his private life: but alas for the hapless pro- as that were cursed with his good nature. For some perse- on, committed in a fever-fit of superstition, he is clearly on- sible: but most of the bloody acts of his reign were per- ated by the savage and greedy officials with whom he found agreeable to interfere. With regard to Antoninus Pius, it fficult not to suspect that the spurious edict to the assembly sia in favour of the Christians has insensibly influenced the ls even of those who reject it¹. The fact is that we know emely little about his reign at all, and yet we do know that it marked as a time of portents and strange occurrences, the l occasions of popular violence against the Christians. ve all, we know that the state of the law till the middle he third century made it very difficult for any but a very rmined emperor to restrain a mob or a prefect bent upon roying the "atheists."

FENTON J. A. HORT.

IV.

Notes on the Agamemnon of Æschylus.

Greek tragedy, perhaps, has received more attention from lars than the play which forms the opening of the only nt trilogy. And it well deserves the pains which have been owed upon it. For while the picturesqueness and lyric beau- of the choral odes and the dramatic force of the dialogue

The letters will of course still n, which Antoninus Pius, accord-) Meliton (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26), , to several states *περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ρίξαι περὶ ἡμῶν*. The phrase ex- es very happily the indefinite kind otection which a benevolent em-

peror would try to extend to a class of harmless men whom he saw to be frequently the victims of cupidity or fanati- cism. It does not indicate any dis- pensation from the regular legal pro- ceedings which might undoubtedly be taken against the Christians.

must always attract a number of readers, who will neglect the less interesting plays, every one must feel that it presents a greater number of peculiar difficulties than almost any other relic of the Greek stage. The existing state of the criticism and interpretation of this play is well exhibited in Mr Paley's successive editions, and his learning and good taste have generally guided him to a right decision, or at least to a defensible opinion, in regard to the views, which he has adopted from other commentators, or originated himself. There are, however, some passages, and those too among the most difficult or interesting in the play, in which I am unable to acquiesce altogether in any current reading or rendering; and it may perhaps be worth while to submit to the judgment of others the conclusions to which I have been led on a recent perusal of the *Agamemnon*. In every passage, on which I have anything new to offer, I will first quote the immediate context, as it is generally read. The numbering of the lines is that in Mr Paley's second edition (*Cambridge* 1853).

I.

vv. 11—19 :

εὐτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδρυσόν τ' ἔχω
 εὐνήν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην
 ἐμήν. φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παρασταεῖ,
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ.
 ὅταν δ' αἰδεῖν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,
 ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,
 κλαίω τότε οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,
 οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένου.

Very few critical readers will, I think, be disposed to deny that there is an intolerable awkwardness in this passage, and the more it is examined, the more it must be felt that the superfluous and ill-placed ἐμήν, at the beginning of the third line, has usurped the functions of some verb, which is required as the apodosis of εὐτ' ἂν ἔχω, and as the pivot of the φόβος γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. which follows. It must also be obvious, that, standing immediately under εὐνήν, and immediately above τὸ μὴ, the intrusion of ἐμήν is easily accounted for. And it is clear to me that the only question, which is really open, is—what verb is at once most in harmony with the sense of the passage, and with the traces of

the existing text? The watchman says that: "when he keeps his night-wandering and dew-drenched lair not visited by dreams, then he—does something—for fear stands by his side instead of sleep, so that he cannot close his eyelids in unbroken repose; and that when he seems to sing or chirp, by way of remedy for the sleep which he is deprived of, then he weeps and wails for the unhappy condition of his master's house." Surely we have here two different statements; when he goes to his resting-place, fear obliges him to substitute for quiescence something the reverse of it; and when he tries to cheer himself with music, his voice breaks forth in lamentation. All things considered, there is no verb so well calculated to take the place of *ἐμνήν*, as *ἔρρω*, which, according to palæographical considerations, is very near it in outward appearance. This word, which properly means to go slowly 'backwards and forwards, to walk painfully or reluctantly, is often used by *Æschylus* to denote constrained progress, or going away, when honour, interest, or pleasure would call upon us to remain in some place. Thus in *Eumen.* 291 we have:

οὗτοι σ' Ἀπόλλων οὐδ' Ἀθηναίας σθέινος
 ῥύσασιτ' ἂν ὥστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένον
 ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' ἔπου φρενῶν.

This is just the state of restlessness, which the watchman would attribute to the influence of his continual fears; as the Erinnyes would goad Orestes, so the sentinel's terror kept him in continual, though reluctant motion. I think therefore that *Æschylus* wrote *ἔρρω*, and not *ἐμνήν* in this passage.

II.

vv. 69—71:

οὐθ' ὑποκλαίων οὐθ' ὑπολείβων
 οὔτε δακρύων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
 ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραβέλξει.

No one, I think, who is well acquainted with the style of *Æschylus*, can hesitate to adopt the suggestion of Paley and Hermann, that *οὔτε δακρύων* is a marginal explanation of one of the two preceding participles, probably of *ὑπολείβων*, and ought to be struck out. It seems to me simply impossible that the poet should have added such a tame and common-place word as *δακρύων* to his emphatic alliteration of *ὑποκλαίων* or *ὑποδαίων*—whichever is

the true reading—and ὑπολείβων. This sort of *parechesis* in the repetition of words beginning with the same preposition is common enough, and there is no example, I believe, of its interruption by the addition of an uncompounded word. Thus in v. 1530 we have κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταβάψομεν, the effect of which would be entirely lost, if the metre allowed or obliged us to write βάψομεν. So also we might compare v. 1382: ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες, ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει, where Hermann has corrected the last word¹. With regard to the meaning of the passage, I am surprised that any one should for a moment hesitate to accept the opinion adopted by Bamberger, Dindorf and Hermann, that the Chorus is here referring to the sacrifice of Iphigenia. That ἄπυρα ἱερά are "sacrifices offered without fire" is sufficiently proved by Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 48:

καὶ τοὶ γὰρ αἰθοίσας ἔχοντες σπέρμ' ἀνέβαν φλογὸς οὐ· τεύξαν δ' ἀπύ-
ροις ἱεροῖς
ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει.

Now this "sacrificing without fire" might either imply, as in the passage of Pindar, the neglect of a prescribed form of religious worship; or it might denote, as in the case of Iphigenia, the

¹ I cannot doubt that we ought to make this correspondence of the two words beginning with *d*- more complete by reading ἀκαίρων for ἀκαίρως in the *Choëph.* 615. In *Theognis* 899 (919) we read:

ὥστ' ἐς ἀκαίρα πονεῖν καὶ μὴ δόμεν ᾧ
κ' ἐθέλη τις—

which would fully explain the ἀκαίρων πόνων. And in the *Agamem.* 781, ἀκαίρως is used as a synonym for ἀδίκως:

γνώσει δὲ χρόνῳ διαπευθόμενος
τὸν τε δίκαιως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

As the chorus is alluding to cruel and murderous actions committed by women against their nearest friends, these crimes are properly designated as ἀκαίρα, "contrary to the right and expected measure or rule," no less than ἀμελιχα, "unfeeling and merciless in themselves." I think too that the order of thought requires us to place ὥστ. γ', which refers

to the Lemnian crime, as the climax of the other female iniquities, before the reference to Clytemnestra—in other words, to make it the strophe; and then what is now στρ. γ' will follow in a natural order as the antistrophe. This presumes that we should read ἀπεύχομαι in v. 616, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ δόξαι ἐπικότως σέβας in v. 619, and τίω δ' ἄ. ἐ. δ. in v. 620. A proper metrical emphasis requires, I think, that the beginning of the strophe and antistrophe should be arranged thus:

στρ. κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λημνίων
λόγῳ· γοῶται δὲ
δᾶ πᾶθος κατὰπτυστον, ἥκασεν δὲ τις
ἀντ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμνησάμην ἀμειλίχων
πόνων ἀκαίρων δὲ,
δυσφιλὲς γαμήλευμ' ἀπεύχομαι δόμοις.

I have taken δᾶ πᾶθος from Hermann's γὰ πᾶθος. His readings in vv. 614—621, and the parenthesis which he supposes, are quite inadmissible.

offering up of a human victim, who could not be burnt or cooked, and in part eaten, as all burnt offerings were, by the assembled worshippers. Hence, in the same chorus, the sacrifice of Iphigenia is described as one against all law, one which none might feast on (v. 147):

σπενδομένα θυσίαν ἑτέραν ἄνομον τιν' ἔδαιτον.

Again, the ἀτενείς ὄργαι, which I have compared with another passage of Pindar (see *Journal of Class. and Sacred Philology*, No. II. p. 211), manifestly presume personal feelings—no doubt the stubborn and inexorable resentment of Clytæmnestra. Accordingly, ἀπύρων ἱερῶν cannot be the genitive of the subject, but must represent the object or cause of the wrath provoked by the sacrifice of Iphigenia. And so the passage will mean: “neither by offerings of fire nor by offerings of tears will one soothe the stubborn wrath excited by that unburnt sacrifice;” which is much the same as the sentiment in v. 148:

μῖμνει γὰρ φοβερά παλίνορτος
οἰκονόμος δολία μνάμων μῆνις τεκνέποιος.

This is in fact the key-note to the forebodings attributed to the chorus up to the time of the catastrophe. See especially vv. 1309—1313.

III.

vv. 97—103:

τούτων λῆξας' ὅτι καὶ δυνατόν
καὶ θέμις αἰεὶν
παιὼν τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης
ἢ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει
τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσίων ἀγανά φαίνουσ'
ἐλπίς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἀπληστον
τὴν θυμοβόρον φρένα λύπην.

It seems to me scarcely possible that *Æschylus* should have written λῆξασα παιὼν τε γενοῦ in a construction like this. The passages quoted by Paley belong to a different class. Nor can I for a moment accept Heindorf's extraordinary suggestion that the construction is γενοῦ λῆξασα παιὼν τε. It appears much more likely that *Æschylus* wrote ΛΕΞΟΝΘ, which has been corrupted into ΛΕΞΑC. With regard to the end of the passage, I cannot hesitate to adopt the conjecture of Ahrens: ἀπληστον λύπης, θυμοφόρον

ἀτην, which I think is confirmed by the similar confusion of ἀτη, αἶσα, and ἀνδρῶν, which I have pointed out in a note on the *Antigone*, 604—607.

IV.

vv. 162—164:

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων
οὐδὲν λῆξαι πρὶν ὦν.

Various attempts have been made to correct this obviously corrupt passage. Schütz and Hermann proposed οὐδὲν ἂν λῆξαι, Klausen οὐδὲν ἔτι λῆξαι, Ahrens οὐδέ λήξεται, Markscheffel οὐτι λήξεται, Franz οὐ λελίξεται, Müller οὐδὲν ἀρκέσαι, Conington οὐκ ἀλέξεται, and Paley, adopting the first of these conjectures, renders it, after Hermann, *nullius momenti est*, with reference to the idiom οὐδὲν λέγει, "it is worthless," Ar. *Equites* 334. All these suggestions leave the main difficulty untouched, namely, the use of οὐδὲν or some other negative between οὐδέ and its verb; for the relative sentence interposed does not appear to me to justify such a repetition. Considering the emphatic position of πρὶν ὦν, especially with reference to the preceding πάροιθεν, I think it most likely that the particle νῦν is concealed in οὐδὲν, and that the true reading is νῦν ἀλεξήσῃ πρὶν ὦν. Jupiter is here addressed as Ζεὺς ἀλεξήτωρ (Soph. *Ed. Col.* 143) or ἀλεξητήριος (Sept. c. *Theb.* 8). Troublesome thoughts arise, and the ruling God can alone disperse them; Ζεὺς τόγ' ἀλεξήσεις (Hom. *Od.* III. 346). Neither he, who was aforesaid mighty, will now help, being of older date; and as for him, who came into being afterwards, he is passed and gone, having met with more than his match. But if any one raises the song of triumph to Jove with all his heart, in full assurance of faith, he will obtain the grace and comfort which he needs. The difficulty raised about the use of ὅστις with reference to a particular person is not supported by the usage of Æschylus: cf. *Prom.* 170: τὸ νέον βούλευμ' ὑφ' ὅτου σκῆπτρον τιμᾶς τ' ἀποσπλάτναι. 38: ὅστις τὸ σὸν θνητοῖσι προσδωκεν γέρας. 755: ὅτῳ θανεῖν μὲν ἔστιν οὐ πεπρωμένον. 761: ἦτις ἐκ Διὸς πάσχω κακῶς. *Pers.* 731: ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἤλπισε σχήσειν. *Ag.* 1035: ἦτις ἦκει. 1373: θανυμένον σου, ἦτις κομπάζεις. The opposition between νῦν and πρὶν ὦν is much the same as that in *Pers.* 154: εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ.

V.

vv. 234—238:

ἐπεὶ πολλὰ κίς
πατρός κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους
ἔμελψεν ἄγρῃ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδῇ
πατρός φίλου τριτύσπονδον εὐποτμον
αἰῶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

It is surely very strange that the obvious correction of *παῖνα* for *αἶνα* should not have established itself in the text. Every one sees that the reference is to the pæan, which followed the libations, and which Iphigenia honoured, i. e. took a part in; cf. vv. 185 sqq.:

τὸ συμφότιμον
μέλος ἐκφάτως τίοντας—

where participation in a choral song is directly referred to. *Æschylus* says (*Conn.* II. 1): *ὡς δ' ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἐσπείναντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν*. So also *Plato* (*Conn.* p. 176 A): *κατακλινόντες τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ δειπνήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, σπονδάς τε ὀσφᾶς οἰήσασθαι καὶ ἄσαντας τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα τρέπεσθαι ὅς τὸν πότον*. It is well known that the libations which preceded the Pæan were just three in number, (1) to the gods above, (2) to the gods below, (3) to Jove the saviour; hence the Pæan is justly called *τριτύσπονδος*; and as *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ* *τρίτος* was the *οἰκοφύλαξ* *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* (*Suppl.* 26), we can understand the epithet *εὐποτμος* with the same reference. On the whole, nothing can be more in accordance with the natural sense of the context than a reading which says distinctly that the princess with her innocent young voice affectionately honoured the pæan, when the third libation had been poured forth to the giver of prosperity in her father's hospitable halls (with *ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους* comp. *ἀνδρῶνες ἕτεροι Choëph.* 701).

VI.

v. 292:

πλέον καίονσα τῶν εἰρημένων.

The usual and, as I believe, the correct translation of this passage is "kindling a brighter flame than those which have been mentioned;" and some of the commentators explain the fact by a reference to the diminished distance between the telegraphstations in this case. It has been suggested that τῶν εἰρημένων may mean "more than their instructions enjoined," just as we

have in v. 1598: σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον, "when prudence has been enjoined." And Dindorf, with characteristic rashness, has ejected the passage, in order to foist into the text an anonymous fragment quoted by Hesychius: προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα. Instead of departing from the usual interpretation of τῶν εἰρημένων, or removing this simple passage from the text of Æschylus, I feel more disposed to insert the same general reference to the preceding statements in a passage of Diphilus, which is otherwise hopelessly corrupt. In the well-known Fragment of the *Zographus* (Athen. vii. p. 291 f; Meineke, p. 394), that comedian describes the cook's caution in engaging himself by the job; and after mentioning some cases in which he profits by the careless extravagance of his employers, the speaker gives his reasons for eschewing all dealings with economical pic-nic parties, vv. 28, 29:

ἀπὸ συμβολῶν συνάγοντα νῆ Δί' ἕτερα πον
ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸν κέραμον ἀνευρημένα.

The last word has been the subject of numberless conjectures, of which by far the most absurd is Coray's *ἐνουρημένα*; indeed it is quite marvellous that Schweighæuser should have quoted such a childish criticism, which leaves the metrical difficulty as it was, and makes nonsense of the passage. It is clear, as Meineke has shown, that *κέραμος* means "eam fori partem ubi coquorum erat statio;" and as *συνάγοντα* must be the accusative after *ἐνέβαλεν*, *ἕτερα* must be the nominative; and this word would have no reference if we did not mend at once the sense and the metre by reading *ἢ τῶρημένα* or *ἢ τὰ εἰρημένα* for *ἀνευρημένα*: "very different motives from those which I have mentioned drive the pic-nic caterer to cooks' row." That *ἕτερος* in the sense of "different" may be followed by *ῆ*, is well known; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 835; Eurip. *Orest.* 346. And although the crasis in *τῶρημένα* is not harsher than that in *κᾶτα* for *καὶ εἴτα*, it is sufficiently unusual to puzzle an ignorant copyist.

VII.

vv. 453—456:

τὸ δ' ὑπερκότως κλύειν εὖ
βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσσοις
Διόθεν κέρανος.
κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ἔλβον.

Mr George Burges has collected a number of his own emendations, which, he says, had been previously suggested by other critics, and he leaves it doubtful whether these are cases of accidental coincidence, or whether he had availed himself of their ingenuity. If we were to accept the rule by which he judges others, every such resemblance is a proof of pilfering on the part of the subsequent writer. But whatever may be the success of Mr Burges's ingenuity in other cases, no scholar, I conceive, will envy either his or Lobeck's conjectural emendation of the passage quoted above. Lobeck proposed, in the first edition of his commentary on *Ajax*, published nearly half a century ago, and not, as Mr Burges says, in his 2nd edition, which appeared in 1835, that we should read *βάλλεται γὰρ Ὅσση διόθεν κεραυνός* "*fortasse ut Horatius feriunt summos fulmina montes:*" and Mr Burges gives us: *βάλλεται δ' ἄκρ' Ὅσσης διόθεν κεραυνοῖς*. The obvious meaning of the context obliges us to reject without the slightest hesitation this insertion of a frigid common-place. The chorus says that to be excessively well-spoken of (of course we must read *ὑπερκόπως* for *ὑπερκότως*) is grievous; for—that Jove does something in consequence—and that prosperity free from envy is to be preferred. From this it is clear that, if *Æschylus* wrote with any logic in his composition, he must have passed to the preference for *ἄφθορος* *δλβος* by some sentence which explained the connexion between excessive renown and the envy of the Gods. That *ἄφθορος* is used in the less usual sense of "unenvied" is clear. To the same effect the poet had said v. 369: *ἔστω δ' ἀπήμαντον ὥστε κάπαρκιν εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα*, where we must understand *ἐπαρκεῖν* in Solon's sense:

δημῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσσον ἐπαρκεῖ.

Now that Jupiter in particular was liable to the *φθόνος* which is attributed to the Gods in general (see the commentators on Herod. i. 32; iii. 40) is sufficiently shown by the prayer in Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 25: *ἀφθόνητος ἔπεισιν γένοιο χρόνον ἅπαντα, Ζεῦ πάτερ*. Nothing then could be more appropriate here than a reference to Jove's envy of the over-prosperous. And as *Agamemnon* himself is made to say in a subsequent scene (v. 918):

*καὶ τοῖσδ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν
μή τις πρόσωθεν ὀμμάτων βάλοι φθόνος—*

I cannot doubt that Klausen is right, when he construes *δοσοῖς*
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as the dative of the instrument, and refers to the lightning glance of indignation which flashed down from the eyes of Jove; thus in *Sept. c. Theb.* 485 we have the phrase: Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίνων, and in *Prom.* 356: ἐξ ὀμμάτων ἤστραπτε γοργαπὸν σέλας. It may be a question whether the poet also thought of the outward signs of divine envy and displeasure by which the proud were sometimes checked in the midst of their prosperity and renown, just as Jove's lightning flashes before the steeds of Diomedes, and warns him that there is a limit to his self-confidence (*Hom. Il.* vii. 133).

VIII.

vv. 518, 519:

τοῦ ῥύσιον θ' ἤμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον
αὐτόχθονον πατρῶον ἔθρισεν δόμον.

With regard to ῥύσιον, I think that Paley has rightly rejected the interpretation, which finds favour with Conington and Blackie, who were preceded by a very unsafe authority—the late Professor Scholefield. It is clear that the poet is here speaking of Helen, the prey or booty, which Paris was obliged to relinquish. In addition to this loss he brought destruction on his own native city, and thus it is said that the sin is doubly atoned for—not only is restitution made, but the culprit and all his family and race are destroyed. I have referred to this passage chiefly in order to protest against the current interpretation of αὐτόχθονον. We are told that it means “cum ipsa terra,” just as αὐτότοκος in v. 135 signifies “cum ipso fetu,” and αὐτανδρος “cum ipsis viris” in Lucian. Now, in the first place, I do not understand the meaning of “mowing down a paternal house together with the land.” Then, whatever may be said about αὐτότοκος, the common meaning of αὐτόχθων forbids us to seek for a signification entirely unconnected with its ordinary usage. It seems to me that the opposition is between the restitution of that which he imported from a foreign country, and the ruin he brought besides on his own native and paternal home. And I conceive that αὐτόχθονος bears the same sense as χθόνιος in *Æd. Col.* 947:

τοιούτων αὐτοῖς Ἄρεος εὖβουλον πάγον
ἐγὼ ξυνήδη χθόνιον δυνθ', ὃς οὐκ ἐῖα
τοιούσδ' ἀλήτας τῇδ' ὁμοῦ ναίειν πόλει.

IX.

vv. 529, 530:

ὥς πῶλλ' ἄμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός μ' ἀναστένειν.

πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπὴν στύγος στρατῶ;

That *στρατῶ* is a false reading, probably suggested to the careless scribe by the *στρατός* at the end of v. 523, I am quite ready to admit with Hermann. But I cannot follow Paley in accepting is or rather Emperius' substitution of *φρενῶν*. It seems to me most unlikely that the poet would have introduced this word immediately after *δύσφρον*, to say nothing of *φρενός* in the preceding line. Besides, I think we require a dative after *ἐπὴν*, and I should propose: τοῦτ' ἐπὴν θυμῷ στύγος, with reference to the proper meaning of *δύσθυμος*; see Hermann on Soph. *Electr.* v. 212.

X.

vv. 594, 595:

οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν

ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.

After all that has been written on this passage, I cannot believe that the text, as it stands, admits of a reasonable interpretation. It does not seem to me natural that Clytæmnestra, in boasting of her own innocence, should seek a comparison from some difficult art—such as that of enamelling bronze. Still less can I think, with Hermann, that she is alluding to her own murderous intentions, and that she disclaims her adultery by disclaiming her blood-guiltiness. The passages which he quotes (Soph. *Aj.* 5, *Æsch. Prom.* 866, *Cho.* 1005) explain themselves, and throw no light on the lines before us. If we were to read ἢ χαλκὸς βαφάς, we should get a meaning at once simple and natural: "I know no more of clandestine pleasures and their attendant slanders than bronze knows of its dyeing:" because the strongest dye may be obliterated from a metal surface. There is a similar proverb in Spanish. And the turn of the phrase is not unlike that in the fragment of the *Cedalion* of Sophocles:

τοῖς σοῖς ἐγὼ λόγοισιν οὐ τεκμαίρομαι

οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λευκῇ λίθῳ λευκῇ σταθμῇ.

XI.

vv. 619, 620:

εὐφημον ἡμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ
γλώσση μαίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν.

Hermann maintains that ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν, for ἡ θεῶν τιμή, is a solœcism, and he renders the words thus: ἡ τιμὴ χωρὶς θεῶν ἐστὶ, "præmium sine diis est," i. e. "præmium accipit malorum in re læta nuntius tale, cui non favent dii." I should be surprised if any Cambridge scholar assented either to the condemnation of the ordinary rendering, or to Hermann's improved translation. It seems clear to me that the words must mean: "the honour of gods is distinct and separate—we must not mix thanksgivings with deprecations—we must not bring at once the offerings of joy and mourning." For the Greek it is sufficient to quote the line

χωρὶς τό τ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ τὰ καίρια.

And for the sentiment to refer to Cicero, *Phil.* i. 6, 13: "an me censetis decreturum ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur?"

XII.

vv. 786—790:

δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ
κλύοντες ἀνδροθήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς
εἰς αἵματηρόν τεύχος οὐ διχορρόπως
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει
ἐλπίς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῃ.

With the other critics I agree only so far, as to believe with them that χειρὸς is a false reading. Hermann's *χρεῖος*, *indiga*, is condemned by the position in which the epithet would appear. Paley's interpretation of Casaubon's *χεῖλος* seems to me singularly ludicrous. He supposes a reference to the story of Pandora as told by Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 96:

μοῦνη δ' αὐτόθι ἐλπίς ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δόμοις
ἔνδον ἔμμενε πίθου ὑπὸ χεῖλεσιν—

and understands *χεῖλος* of the inner and lower rim of the vessel, as in Aristoph. *Eq.* 814: *ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστήν· εὐρὸν ἐπιχειλῇ.* Hope, therefore, approached the lower rim, went half-way up the inside of the voting-urn. In other words, instead of

ing its proper ballast of pebbles, it was about half-full of !! To say nothing of the humorous freak of treating hope one of the forty thieves, and making her anxious to have a round stones on the top of her head, I must deny that *ῥεῖ χεῖλος* could be said of the contents of a vessel. I have not that Casaubon, when he proposed this emendation, understood that Hope, the goddess, went up to the unfilled urn. At rate, this is the obvious force of the context. All the Gods put their votes into the urn of condemnation, and Hope alone put up to the urn of acquittal. That this is the general meaning is clear. But, as the text stands, *χειρὸς* creates an insuperable difficulty. For, as the genitive after *πληρουμένης*, it must, according to the Greek idiom, be equivalent to *ὑπὸ χειρὸς*; but the hand was the agent but the instrument of the filling: so we have in *Phil.* 324: *θυμῷ γένοιτο χεῖρα πληρῶσαί ποτε*: and in any case we should expect *χειρῶν* instead of *χειρὸς*. In short, if *Æschylus* had intended to speak of the hands of the voting deities, he must have written *χερσίν*. The true reading, however, seems to lie somewhat deeper. It will be observed that *Æschylus*, instead of *ἐψηφίσαντο* says *ψηφούς ἔθεντο*, although the common verb would have suited his metre, and though this mode of expression involves a harsh construction of the second accusative. I can hardly conceive that he would have gone out of his way to introduce the word *ψηφούς*, if he had not wished to lay the stress on the fact, well known of course to his hearers, that the voting was by means of round sea-pebbles placed in an urn. It is scarcely necessary to show that this was the case. Thus *Sophocles* speaks of the *ποντιῶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν* (*Ol.* XIII. 44), and says (*Xi.* 9): *νῦν ψάφον ἐλίσσομένην ὅπα κῦμα κατακλύσσει ρέον*; and with the same reference to the place where the voting-pebbles were kept up, *Aristophanes* humorously designates the old dicast's "private collection" as a beach or sea-shore of shingle, *Vesp.* I, 110:

*ψηφῶν δὲ δέισας μὴ δεηθείη ποτέ,
ἵν' ἔχοι δικάζειν, αἰγιαλὸν ἔνδον τρέφει.*

Now the poetical term for a collection of *ψηφοί* or sea-pebbles is *ῥεῖς*; thus *Pindar*, *Pyth.* VI. 12: *οὐτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχοῦς ἀλδὸς ἄξιοι σφόδρ' χεράδι τυπτόμενον*. That the *χερὰς* was expressly distinguished from the sand and mud found at the bottom of the water is shown by a passage in *Hom. Il.* XXI. 316 sqq.:

φημί γὰρ οὔτε βίην χραισμησέμεν οὔτε τι εἶδος
οὔτε τὰ (leg. τι) τεύχεα κάλα τὰ που μάλα νεύθει λίμνης
κείσεθ' ὑπ' ἰλύος κεκαλυμμένα· καὶ δέ μιν αὐτὸν
εἰλύσω ψαμάθοισιν ἄλις, χεράδος περιχεύας
μυρίον, οὐδέ οἱ ὅστε' ἐπιστήσονται Ἀχαιοὶ
ἀλλέξαι· τόσσην οἱ ἄσιν καθύπερθε καλύψω.

Here we see that *ἄσις*, *colluvies*, as a general term includes the mud or slime (*ἰλύς*), the sand (*ψάμαθος*), and the pebbles (*χεράς*) found at the bottom of the sea. And that *χεράς* denoted a number of stones is shown by the fact that the word is used in speaking of an altar made of small stones; Apoll. Rhod. i. 1123: *βωμὸν δ' αὖ χεράδος παρενήνεον*. We have thus a poetical word, distinctly expressing the collection of pebbles made by the votes put into the urn, sufficiently resembling the unintelligible *χειρός* of the manuscripts, and not so common as to be understood by the copyist. And when we remember that *πληρουμένῳ* requires a genitive of the materials, that, by substituting *ψήφους* *ἔθεντο* for *ἐψηφίσαντο*, Æschylus has made a direct reference to the stones themselves, and that the present tense of the participle directs our attention to what was going on at the other urn, it seems to me at least more than probable that the true reading is *χεράδος οὐ πληρουμένῳ*, and that the poet's meaning is as follows: "the Gods without any hesitation put their pebbles for the man-slaying destruction of Troy into the urn of condemnation; but to the other vase Hope came up, as it was not being filled with the sea-stones." The insertion of the *ι* in *χειρός*, for *χεράδος*, is an easy result of the copyist's misconception. A similar corruption is observable in a passage of Sophocles, where this little vowel is the sole obstacle to the removal of an outrageous solæcism, which has escaped the notice of all the editors¹. In Soph. *Electra* 780 we find:

¹ I see that the same correction is proposed, somewhat doubtfully, by Mr Shilleto in his appendix on *ὥστ' οὐ* (*ad Dem. de fals. Leg.* pp. 202 sqq.). I am disposed to concur in the explanation by which he would account for the other apparent exceptions to the general rule. With regard to those, which he finds more difficult, I would venture to make the following suggestions. In

Dem. *Nicostr.* p. 1246, I should not hesitate to read *οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύρε*. The way to *ἐξευρεῖν* has been through *ἐξεύρε*, misunderstood by a copyist, who did not know the rule about the omission of the temporal augment in verbs beginning with *εὐ-* (Herodian. *Herm.* p. 314. xxxviii.). This passage does not appear to me, as it does to Mr Shilleto, to be very similar to that in the *Phœniss*.

ᾧστ' οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον οὐτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας
ἐμὲ στεγάζειν ἠδύν· ἀλλ' ὁ προστατῶν
χρόνος διηγέ μ' ἀλὲν ὡς θανουμένην.

r, if there is anything certain in Greek syntax, it is a fixed that ᾧστε should be followed by μὴ with the infinitive in ely dependent clauses, and by οὐ with the indicative in a :ence like this; and as we have the imperfect indicative in adversative sentence, it is clear that we must omit the : in ἀζειν and read ἐμ' ἐστέγαζεν.

I take this opportunity of suggesting a new interpretation in another passage of Sophocles, in which, as it appears to me, :ence is made, as in the lines before us, to the vote of demnation. All the commentators have found great diffi- y in the following lines of the *Ajax* 798, 799:

πάρεστ' ἐκείνος ἄρτι· τήνδε δ' ἔξοδον
ὀλεθρίαν Δῖαντος ἐλπίζει φέρειν.

er all perhaps the true interpretation is, "he fears that this ig forth gives the death-vote of Ajax—passes sentence of th upon him." We have ὀλεθρία ψῆφος in *Sept. c. Theb.* 180; ψῆφον φέρειν in *Eumen.* 680.

XIII.

vv. 934—938:

οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἀναξ,
ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.
πολλῶν πατησμὸν εἰμάτων ἂν ἠϋξάμην,
δόμοισι προὔνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις
ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένης.

seems to me unnecessary to adopt Porson's conjecture of s for οἶκος. On the contrary, I think that it would spoil the :e, and deprive us of the opposition between οἶκος at the

. On the contrary, I think that :osition of the negatives in the main :e, and the occurrence of the ἂν he illative sentence, make all the :ence in the passage of Demosthe-

As the positive assertion would ακρὰν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. ᾧστε μὴ ἀπαντὰ :ίεναι, it seems to me that the nega- :assertion requires οὐ μακρὰν κ. τ. λ.

ᾧστε μὴ οὐχ ἀπαντὰ σ' εἰδέναι, and I would therefore read:

οἶσθ'· οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τειχέω περιπτυχὰ
ὡς μὴ οὐχ ἀπαντὰ σ' εἰδέναι τὰ δρώμενα.
The use of ὡς for ᾧστε may have led to the corruption; see however *Æsch. Eum.* 36: ὡς μήτε σκεῖν μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάσειν. For ᾧστε μὴ οὐ cf. *Eumen.* 292, quoted above in No. I.

beginning and *δόμος* at the end of the clause. The construction is sufficiently supported by the last lines of Theocritus *xxii.*:

καὶ ὡς ἐμὸς οἶκος ὑπάρχει,
τοῖα φέρω. γερῶν δὲ θεοῖς κάλλιστον αἰοιδῇ.

It must be remembered that *οἶκος* means not only the house, like *δόμος*, but also the stock and store of accumulated wealth, the *περιουσία χρημάτων*, in which vestments formed a conspicuous part: hence such phrases as, *ἔνθα κ' ἄοκνος ἀνὴρ μέγα οἶκον ὀφέλλοι* (Hesiod. *Op. et D.* 493), and *αἶψα δὲ οἶκος ὀφέλλετο* (Hom. *Od.* *xiv.* 233). The meaning of the passage clearly is, "we have a store of these things to enjoy or possess with the favour of the Gods:" cf. *Eumen.* 161: *βλοσυρὸν ἀράμενον ἄγος ἔχειν*. That the gen. *μηχανωμένης* has been suggested by *τῇσδε* seems pretty obvious, but I prefer reading *μηχανωμένη*, with Blomfield and Dindorf, to the dative *μηχανωμένῃ*, which finds favour in the eyes of Franz, Paley and Hermann, but which is objectionable on account of *δόμοις*. There is every reason to believe that Æschylus must have been acquainted with Pindar's fourth Pythian ode, which was written about eight years before the Agamemnon, and it is not improbable that the phrase *ψυχῆς κόμιστρα* may have been suggested by Pindar's *ἐὰν ψυχὰν κομίξαι* (*P.* *iv.* 159), or by *τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίξαι οὗ μοι δυνατὸν* which occurs in an ode written about the same time as this trilogy, (*N.* *viii.* 44) cf. *P.* *iii.* 56: *ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι ἤδη ἀλωκότα*, where we have the same reference to Æsculapius as in the following chorus (*v.* 990). But Æschylus uses the word *ψυχῇ* with reference to the soul of a living man; and *κομίζειν*, implied in his *κόμιστρα*, signifies merely to bring back to Greece the living Agamemnon, just as Pindar says of the Greeks themselves (*O.* *xiii.* 57): *τοὶ μὲν γένει φίλῳ σὺν Ἀτρείῳ Ἑλέναν κομίζοντες*. Whereas Pindar refers in his fourth Pythian to the wish of Phrixus that his relations would bring back his exiled soul to his native land, and in the other passages to bringing back the soul from the grave. There may, however, be some intention to make Clytæmnestra express herself here also with studied ambiguity, and the participle *μηχανωμένη* indicates the purpose for which she desired to have the life of Agamemnon at her disposal.

XIV.

vv. 972—974 :

μάλα γέ τοι τὰς πολλὰς ὑγείας
 ἀκόρεστον τέρμα, νόσος γὰρ [ἀεὶ]
 γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει.

Some seventeen years ago I explained this passage by a reference to Solon (p. 80 Bach): πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται, κ.τ.λ., and suggested that ἀκόρεστος must mean "uncertain," "unsteady," "wayward," "always changing its place," both in these words and in two other passages of the *Agamemnon*; 1304: τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφνῃ πᾶσι βροτοῖσι. 1461: κακὸν αἶνον ἀτηρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστων. And I found the same signification still more strongly expressed in the words of Sophocles, *Ed. Col.* 120: ποῦ κυρεῖ ἐκτόπιος συθεῖς ὁ πάντων ὁ πάντων ἀκορεστότατος (*New Crat.* § 335). I have lately observed a remarkable confirmation of this view, especially in its application to the passage last cited, in the similar words of the chorus in the *Ajax*, where the sailors are vainly seeking their hero, just as the chorus in the other play are impatiently hunting for the blind king of Thebes. The Salaminian sailors say somewhat peevishly (vv. 871 sqq.):

σχέτλια γὰρ
 ἐμέ γε τὸν μακρῶν ἀλάταν πόνων
 οὐρίφῃ μὴ πελάσαι δρόμφῃ,
 ἀλλ' ἀμύνηνον ἄνδρα μὴ λεύσσειν ὅπου.

Here the epithet ἀμύνητος has seemed so difficult to Musgrave that he conjectures μεμνητόν ἄνδρα, and Hermann can find no better rendering than *virum morbo debilitatum*, which is quite inconsistent with the context. But we must recollect that ἀμύνητος, or ἀμεινής, is generally used by Homer to denote the fleeting or flitting shades of the dead: and when applied to the transitory life of man in general it bears the same meaning. As it is beautifully expressed in our funeral service: "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live; *he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay.*" If then ἀμειν-ητός is derived from μένειν, the origin of the word fully explains its ordinary acceptance, and it will denote in the passage of the *Ajax* that the hero eluded the search of his friends, slipped through their fingers, just as *Æschylus* says of the nightly

vision, βέβαιον ὅψις διὰ χειρῶν. The same is plainly the meaning of ἀκορεστότατος in the parallel passage of the *Œdipus Coloneus*, except that here the idea of mobility and flitting is derived from that of a fickle, inconstant, and dissatisfied temper. Conversely, Shakspeare uses "fleeting," which is properly the equivalent of ἀμενηνός, to denote "changeable, inconstant," which are rather the rendering of ἀκόρεστος; thus in *Richard III.* we have: "Clarence is come; false, *fleeting*, perjured Clarence;" and in *Antony and Cleopatra*: "now the *fleeting* moon no planet is of mine." The meaning then of the passage before us clearly is: "the boundary-wall of great health is fleeting: for disease, like a next-door neighbour, is always leaning against the partition."

XV.

vv. 1167—1170:

ΚΑ. ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμους τό μ' εἶδέναι
λόγῳ παλαιᾷς τῶνδ' ἀμαρτίας δόμων.

ΧΘ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκος, πῆγμα γενναίως παγέν,
παιώνιον γένοιτο;

I return to these lines for the purpose of maintaining the interpretations, which I proposed in the *New Cratylus*, §§ 311, 397; the more so, as those interpretations have furnished the occasion for a somewhat remarkable procedure on the part of the last editors of the *Agamemnon*. I had proposed that, as χρόνῳ κλυτὸς occur in combination both in Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 32, and in Æschylus, *Choëph.* 641, we may regard this juxta-position as equivalent to a compound such as *χρονοκλυτός*; and similarly, that, as λόγῳ παλαιᾷς occur in combination both in Æsch. *Agamemn.* 1168 [1199] and in Soph. *Ed. Tyr.* 1395, this juxta-position might be similarly explained as equivalent to *παλαιάφατος*; cf. *Agam.* 727: *παλαίφατος ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος*. *Choëph.* 622: *πρεσβεύεται λόγῳ*. Of this suggestion Mr Paley says in his first edition: "λόγῳ παλαιᾷς quasi unum verbum jungit Donaldson, quod vix placet." In his second edition he adds: "qui vix recte contulit *Ed. Tyr.* 1395;" and he adopts the reading proposed by Dobree and Hermann: τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι λόγῳ, "non ex rumore tantummodo scire." Hermann says: "apertum est aut deesse negationem, aut inep- tum esse λόγῳ, quod non magis hic referri potest ad παλαιᾷς, quam in Sophoclis *Ed. R.* 1397, ubi cum *πάτρια* conjunctum quæ *patria dicebamini* significat." The reader will remark, that,

rding to Hermann himself λόγῳ cannot be connected with α, unless we depart from all the MSS., and substitute the proper crasis τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι for the simple elision τὸ μ' εἶδέναι. Its gloss τὸ ἐμέ. Nor does Hermann tell us how παλαιὰ must be understood, if we separate the adjective from explanatory dative λόγῳ. Now we have another passage in which the collocation λόγῳ παλαιῖς occurs. It is of course possible that this juxtaposition in the two cases is a fortuitous coincidence; but such a supposition is contrary to the dictates of sound criticism. Half a dozen similar collocations would settle the idiomatic value of λόγῳ παλαιῖς as equivalent to παλαιῖ-φρονος. Two make it probable that the juxtaposition amounts to an intelligible combination. Leave the παλαιὰ in the passage of Sophocles, and all Greek scholars must admit that, to give the meaning which Hermann assigns to this passage, we ought to read τὰ λόγῳ πάτρια δέματα. Surely then παλαιὰ ought to be taken together, as they would be if the δὲ πάτρια were omitted from the clause. And it appears to me that the most natural rendering of the passage is in accordance with this collocation: "O Polybus and Corinth, and ye paternal, word-original mansions;" i. e. "O Polybus—whom I thought to be my Father; and Corinth—which was called my original home;" cf. *Agam.* 519 as explained above, No. VIII. Just so in this passage of the *Agamemnon*: "bear witness in my presence, having first taken an oath in my presence, that I know the sins of this house although they are old in story." One, who has read the introductory chapters in Thucydides, must understand the difficulty which the Greeks attributed to the acquisition of accurate knowledge respecting ancient events, and that historian thinks it enough to say, that he has investigated the facts ὥς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως (I. 21), or more fully: τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εἶρον, χαλεπὰ δὲ τα παντὶ ἐξῆς ἡρίφ πιστεῦσαι (I. 20). What then is more natural than that Cassandra should pledge the chorus to a record of this proof of her inspiration—namely, that she—a foreigner—should be able to speak of the past history of the Argive royal family, as though she had been an eye-witness of the horrible incident to which she refers? And the chorus, in fact, express their astonishment on this very account. Thinking then that the collocation λόγῳ παλαιῖς in two distinct passages cannot have been

accidental, and believing that this combination gives the best and most natural meaning in both cases, I abide by the interpretation and comparison which I first suggested, and do not trouble myself to inquire whether Hermann derived from me the citation of the parallel passage in the *Edipus Tyrannus*.

In regard to the words of the chorus, I remarked that inattention to the Greek idiom, which expresses an almost hopeless wish by $\pi\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon$ with the optative, had prevented all the commentators from seeing the force of this passage, to which the same idiom very naturally applies. Mr Shilleto, in a note in his valuable edition of Demosthenes *de falsa legatione*, § 257, quotes this remark of mine with the following comment: "But surely the inattention has been on the writer's own part to the usage of $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\omega\varsigma$." Hence Mr Paley, in his first edition, after referring to my suggestion about $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\phi \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, says: "idem vir doctus ibidem vertit $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon$ *utinam*; quem recte reprehendit Shilleto." Mr Paley's first edition was published in 1845: and in the *Wiener Jahrbücher der Litteratur* 150, for July, August, and September, 1846, Godfrey Hermann reviewed Paley's *Orestea*, together with Franz's edition of the same plays, and Mr Linwood's *Eumenides*. Having been long established in public reputation as the promised editor of Æschylus, the veteran professor of Leipzig treated these three attempts to forestal his long-deferred labours, as, I am sorry to say, all Germans treat those whom they regard as poachers on their manors. He has scarcely a good word for any one of the three; and Mr Paley in particular is scolded like a school-boy, who has sent up a series of bad exercises. It is not my present object to examine Hermann's review, or to point out his arrogance and bad taste, and to censure the jealousy which in this case, as in that of Müller's *Eumenides*, prevented him from forming a fair estimate of other commentators on Æschylus. I merely refer to the article, as a proof that he had read the notes in Paley's edition of the *Agamemnon*; and to mention that he makes no remark on the passage before us. In 1852 his posthumous edition of Æschylus was given to the world, and I speak the opinion, I believe, of all scholars, when I say that it was a grievous literary disappointment. But I have no cause to complain of his note on this passage; for he adopts my view and repeats the reasons by which I had supported it, without mentioning the name of

the author from whom, through Paley, he had derived it. This reticence is so common a practice among the Germans, in regard to English writers—indeed, it is so necessary to a German's reputation that he should not be thought to be indebted to English learning—that one takes it as a matter of course; and I can only be gratified to find Hermann *jurantem in verba magistri*. Hermann's note, which is as follows, takes precisely the same ground that I had done: "inepte addidisset *Æschylus* γερναίως παγέν, si quæreret chorus, quid prodesse jusjurandum posset. Hoc potius dicit, *atque utinam jusjurandum, firmamentum generose firmatum, medelam afferre possit!* quo indicat, quamvis sanctissimum jusjurandum tamen nihil profuturum esse." With this interpretation—except that he ought to have written *posset*—I must of course concur, for it is my own. And being adopted by Hermann it has produced a certain effect on Mr Paley, who in his second edition says merely "*καὶ πῶς ἂν utinam* vertunt Donaldson et Hermann," without any reference to Mr Shilleto and his "recte reprehendit;" and in the English edition, which has recently appeared, Mr Paley attributes this rendering to Hermann only. Mr Shilleto on the other hand sticks to his briefly expressed charge of "inattention to the usage of *καὶ πῶς*;" and merely adds in his second edition, "though Hermann adopts the same translation." Now I have no fault to find with Mr Shilleto for adhering to his own opinion, and I cannot ask him to accept Hermann as a conclusive authority, for I would not do this myself. But I think that when two persons, who have devoted a good deal of time to Greek criticism, and one of whom—Hermann—enjoys the very highest reputation as a veteran scholar, concur in the interpretation of a passage, the censor is bound to bestow a little extra attention, perhaps to condescend to a little explanation, on the subject on which he passes judgment so decidedly. For it is just possible that Mr Shilleto may understand rules better than principles; it is just possible that, though undoubtedly he is a very accurate scholar, he may still be far from perfect as a philologist. At any rate, I will treat him with more respect than he has shown to me or Hermann, and will give him some reasons for thinking that we are right and that he is wrong. Porson's note on the *Phœniss.* 1373 is the canon by which he judges me, and it is in the following words: "eo nomine *καὶ πῶς* vitiosa est lectio, quod obijcientis fere est

vel contradicentis, ut mode 1367. Sensus [formulæ πῶς καὶ] est, *Dic præterea quomodo.*" There is nothing in my explanation of the passage of the *Agamemnon* to show that I was inattentive to this usage. The wish expressed by the chorus, as I understand it, involves an objection, and I have actually used the word "objection" in explaining it. Indeed πῶς ἄν itself expresses, as one of the commentators says, the wish of one *qui vix confidat fore quod optaverit.* But there is no reason why an objection should not be expressed in the terms of a despairing wish or prayer. It is a good thing to know the facts of a language, but it is something better and higher to know the reasons which explain and account for the facts. And Mr Shilleto must excuse me for reminding him—perhaps I might say, for informing him—that the point involved in the proper rendering of καὶ πῶς ἄν is not so much the position of καὶ, as, which is a much more important question, the position of ἄν. That this particle is placed after the word which bears the stress of the sentence is, I presume, a fact well known to all Greek scholars. Accordingly, when πῶς, or τίς, or πότε is used with ἄν and the optative to express a wish, it is necessary that ἄν should immediately follow the interrogation which gives the whole colour to the sentence. For the optative with ἄν is otherwise removed from the immediate influence of the interrogative particle. As a matter of fact and as a matter of reason, this is always found to be the case; thus we have Soph. *Phil.* 631 :

πῶς ἄν ὑμῖν ἐμφανῆς
ἔργῳ γενοίμην ὥς μ' ἔθεσθε προσφιλεῖ;

not γενοίμην ἄν. So also in *Æsch. Agam.* 605; *Soph. Phil.* 783, 1198; *Aj.* 381; *Eurip. Hippol.* 209; *Suppl.* 796. Indeed I know no passage in which πῶς ἄν signifies *utinam* when the two particles are not placed in strict collocation. Similarly when τίς expresses a wish, it is always closely followed by ἄν, as in *Agam.* 1423: φεῦ τίς ἄν ἐν τάχει μὴ περιώδυνος κ.τ.λ. μῶλοι μοῖρα. *Soph. Œd. Col.* 1100: τίς ἄν θεῶν σοι τόνδ' ἄριστον ἄνδρ' ἰδεῖν δοίη. On the contrary, if there is no wish expressed, the ἄν attaches itself to the optative in spite of the interrogation; thus we have in the *Agam.* 271: καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν ἀγγέλων τάχος; *Eurip. Phœn.* 1367: καὶ πῶς γένοιτ' ἄν τῶνδε δυσποτμώτερα. Both of which passages were before Mr Shilleto. The fact is that the formula καὶ

πῶς might appear in its merely cavilling sense, without any reference to the construction of the sentence, and even by itself; cf. *Æsch. Choëph.* 525: καὶ πῶς; ἄρῳτον οὐθαρ ἦν ὑπὸ στυγός; with Plato, *Theætet.* 163 D: καὶ πῶς; τέρας γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὃ λέγεις; and if the suppressed sentence requires an *ἂν*, it must in this case closely follow the *πῶς*, as in Plato, *Resp.* I. 353 C: καὶ πῶς ἂν; εἶφη, where of course the full sentence would be καὶ πῶς ἀπεργάσαιντ' ἂν; cf. *Theætet.* 186 D. 188 C. If, however, Mr Shilleto denies that *πῶς ἂν* can convey a wish merely because it is preceded by καί, he must deny also that καὶ πότε ἂν can be optative; and then he will have to find a new rendering for *Æsch. Choëph.* 388:

καὶ πότε ἂν ἀμφιβαλῆς
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι;
 φεῦ, φεῦ! κάρῃ δαΐξας
 πιστὰ γένοιτο χῶρος.
 δίκαν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκων ἀπαιτῶ.

For here the whole sentence is precative. On these accounts, I maintain the interpretation, which I proposed many years ago, and reject as both groundless and inaccurate the criticism which Mr Shilleto has put forth and repeated with such confident brevity.

XVI.

vv. 1186—1189:

ἵπ' αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος
 στροβεῖ τάρσων φροιμίους ἐφημένους.
 ὁρᾶτε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους
 νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασι;

That *ἐφημένους* in the second line is a mere anticipation of the same word written immediately beneath it, is admitted by all the editors, so far as I know: but they are not agreed as to the proper word to be substituted for it. Franz proposes *φαντασμάτων*. Hermann has introduced into the text the very improbable and, as I think, tasteless alliteration *φροιμίους δυσφροιμίους*. I should be disposed to take the necessary supplement from the Chorus' description of Cassandra's own words in v. 1121, and to read *φροιμίους δυσφάτους*, which might have been absorbed in an abbreviation of the *δόμοις ἐφημένους* written below.

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not γενοίμην ἄν. So also in *Æsch. Agam.* 605; Soph. *Phil.* 783, 1198; *Aj.* 381; Eurip. *Hippol.* 209; *Suppl.* 796. Indeed I know no passage in which πῶς ἄν signifies *utinam* when the two particles are not placed in strict collocation. Similarly when τίς expresses a wish, it is always closely followed by ἄν, as in *Agam.* 1423: φεῦ τίς ἄν ἐν τάχει μὴ περιώδυνος κ.τ.λ. μόλοι μοῖρα. Soph. *Æd. Col.* 1100: τίς ἄν θεῶν σοι τόνδ' ἄριστον ἄνδρ' ἰδεῖν δοίη. On the contrary, if there is no wish expressed, the ἄν attaches itself to the optative in spite of the interrogation; thus we have in the *Agam.* 271: καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν ἀγγέλων τάχος; Eurip. *Phæn.* 1367: καὶ πῶς γένοιτ' ἄν τῶνδε δυσποτμώτερα. Both of which passages were before Mr Shilleto. The fact is that the formula καὶ

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καὶ πότε' ἂν ἀμφιβαλῆς
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι;
 φεῦ, φεῦ! κάρανα δαΐζας
 πιστὰ γένοιτο χώρῃ.
 δίκαν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκων ἀπαιτῶ.

For here the whole sentence is precative. On these accounts, I maintain the interpretation, which I proposed many years ago, and reject as both groundless and inaccurate the criticism which Mr Shilleto has put forth and repeated with such confident brevity.

XVI.

vv. 1186—1189:

ὑπ' αὐτῷ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνοσ
 στροβεῖ ταρασσῶν φροιμίους ἐφημένους.
 ὀρᾶτε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους
 νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασι;

That *ἐφημένους* in the second line is a mere anticipation of the same word written immediately beneath it, is admitted by all the editors, so far as I know: but they are not agreed as to the proper word to be substituted for it. Franz proposes *φαντασμάτων*. Hermann has introduced into the text the very improbable and, as I think, tasteless alliteration *φροιμίους δυσφροιμίους*. I should be disposed to take the necessary supplement from the Chorus' description of Cassandra's own words in v. 1121, and to read *φροιμίους δυσφάτοις*, which might have been absorbed in an abbreviation of the *δόμοις ἐφημένους* written below.

XVII.

vv. 1238:

ἵτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ' ἀγαθὸν δ' ἀμείψομαι.

Hermann here says: "Scholfieldius meam emendationem, ne-
sciens cujus esset, recepit,

ἵτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ' ἐγὼ δ' αὖ' ἔψομαι.

Communicavi eam ante multos annos meis cum auditoribus." And in his review of 1846 (p. 173), he makes the same observation: "es liegt vor Augen, dass wie ich vor vielen Jahren in meinen akademischen Vorlesungen erinnerte, zu schreiben ist: ἐγὼ δ' αὖ' ἔψομαι. Diese emendation hat Scholefield aufgenommen, dem sie anonym bekannt worden war." We may see from this that Hermann was eager enough to claim his own emendations, though he was not so particular about acknowledging the suggestions which he himself derived from English scholars. I do not know how many years before 1846 Hermann proposed this certain correction in his lecture-room, but I find by a note in the margin of my Blomfield's *Agamemnon*, which I made in the spring of 1831, that it was communicated to Mr Soames of Trinity by another senior classic, Mr Stratton of the same college, in 1828; and I have lately heard that the original author of this excellent emendation was Professor Selwyn, who mentioned it to Mr Stratton, while reading with him as a private pupil. It came to my knowledge in 1831 from a friend of Mr Soames, also a fellow of Trinity, who was at that time my private tutor:

τοιιοῖδ' ἔτοιμοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι—

and I think it just as likely that Hermann got it at second hand from Cambridge, as that it came here from his lecture-room.

XVIII.

vv. 1294—1297:

ἡλίῳ δ' ἐπέυχομαι
πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς τοῖς ἑμοῖς τιμαόροις
ἐχθροῖς φυνεῦσι τοῖς ἑμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ
δούλης θανούσης εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος.

If any special proof were needed of Klausen's incapacity in point of judgment and scholarship to edit such a play as the *Agamem-*

non, it would be supplied by his notes on this passage. He thinks that the text is correct and supposes that *ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς* may be taken together, as the object of *τίνειν*, which he understands as meaning "to inflict a punishment;" that the dative *τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαῖοις* depends on *ἐπεύχομαι*; and that *ὁμοῦ* means "as easily as they will slay me a slave!" I do not hesitate to include in the censure, which I must pass on this interpretation, the support which it has received from Dr Peile and Mr Conington. It cannot be proved, and is not proved by the passages in *Soph. Œd. Col.* 229, 1203; *Æsch. Choëph.* 645, that *τίνειν* is ever used in the ordinary sense of *τίνεσθαι*. It is obvious that *τοῖς ἐμοῖς* has dropped down from the previous line; and even if it was not liable to an objection in point of style, the position of the article would prevent us from taking it with *ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι*. Above all, it seems to me certain that *τίνειν ὁμοῦ* is not Greek. Paley's interpretation is better than Klausen's only because he does not give a false meaning to *τίνειν*. Of the corrections proposed by those who have had the sense to see the impossibility of acquiescing in the text as it stands, the most unwarrantable is that which appears in Hermann's posthumous edition. Having found in Hesychius the gloss *ἀσκεύοις· ψιλοῖς, ἀπαρασκεύοις· Δισχύλος Ἀγαμέμνωνι*—he conceives that the word belongs to this passage, and makes up an imaginary lacuna as follows:

ἤλιφ' ὃ ἐπεύχομαι
πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς· βασιλείῳ τιμαῖοις
ἴσας δίκας φανέντας ἀσκεύοις ὁμοῦ
ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ
δοῦλης κ.τ.λ.

Now in addition to all the other objections to this desperate remedy, there is no reason for believing that Hesychius referred rather to the *Agamemnon* than to the *Choëphoræ*. For in another gloss we have a distinct reference to the latter play under the name of the former. The lexicographer writes: *γονίας· εὐχερής· Δισχύλος Ἀγαμέμνωνι*. The preceding gloss is *γόνημον· εὐκαρπον*, and I believe that we ought to read *εὐκαρπος* for *εὐχερής*. The reference is undoubtedly to the end of the *Choëphoræ* 1052 sqq.:

ὃδε τοι μελάβροισ τοῖς βασιλείοις
τρίτος αὖ χειμῶν
πνεύσας γονίας ἐτελείσθη.

The context of the passage clearly shows that each succeeding catastrophe in the royal house is represented as producing its offspring, the seed of fresh crimes and their punishments, cf. *Agam.* 1453—1456, 1539—1550. The *ὄρνιθίας χειμῶν* of Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 876, means "a wind that is indicative of birds—that blows birds." And in the same way a *γονίας χειμῶν* is one which implies productiveness or continuance of the same production—a *χειμῶν εὐκαρπος* or *γόνιμος* in fact. But if the reference of *γονίας* to the *Choëphoræ* is clear, it is fair to suppose that Hesychius either meant the same play by the same reference *Δισχύλος Ἀγαμέμνωνι*, or that the whole trilogy was called the *Agamemnon*. It is by no means certain that the title *Ὀρεστεία* was borne by the whole three plays. Be that as it may, the most natural place for *ἀσκέυσις* would be the mutilated introduction to the *Choëphoræ*, where it might have occurred in the lost lines of the speech of Orestes, and might have referred to his attempt to attack the murderers of his father by stratagem, and to kill them as they killed Agamemnon (cf. v. 268). With regard to the passage before us, the only question is, what alteration of the impossible *τοῖς ἐμοῖς* and *δμου* would give us the necessary accusatives before and after *τίνειν*, and at the same time do least violence to the existing text. It seems obvious to me that a similar word lurks in the traces of both the false readings; and that as *δμου* springs from *φόνον*, *τοῖς ἐμοῖς* represents the original *τοὺς φονεῖς*. We have the same assonances, and the same use of *ἐχθρὸς* in a well-known passage of the *Choëph.* 303:

ἀντὶ μὲν ἐχθρᾶς γλώσσης ἐχθρὰ
 γλώσσα τελείσθω—τοῦφειλόμενον
 πρᾶσσουσα Δίκη μέγ' αὐτεῖ—
 ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν
 πληγὴν τινέτω.

Nothing, as it appears to me, would be more natural than for Cassandra to pray:

τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις,
 ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι, τοὺς φονεῖς τίνειν φόνον
 δούλης κ.τ.λ.

"that the murderers may give satisfaction for the murder to my avengers, who will slay them under the influence of animosity:" cf. Thucyd. vi. 57: καὶ ὥς ἂν μάλιστα δι' ὀργῆς, ὁ μὲν ἐρωτικῆς, ὁ δὲ ὕβρισμένος, ἔτυπτον καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτόν. It is generally said that the

accusative plural of nouns in *-εύς* is always *-ίας* uncontracted in old Attic. But this can only be maintained as the general rule, since we have in Soph. *Ajax* 388: τοὺς δισσάρχας ἐλέσας βασιλείς (with the variation βασιλῆς), and in Thucyd. II. 76, we have τοὺς Πλαταιεῖς, or Πλαταιῆς.

XIX.

v. 1318:

ἀλλὰ κοινωσόμεθ' ἄν πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλευήματα.

Here again we have Klausen followed by Peile and Conington in an assertion of impossible Greek; for the use of ἄν in this passage is neither more nor less than an impossibility in *Æschylus*. The rhetorical emphasis of the syllable seems to show that the true reading must be εὖ πως.

XX.

vv. 1337—1340:

ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων
μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρως ὥς ὕλωτός;
σάφ' εἰδότες χρὴ τῶνδε μυθοῦσθαι πέρι·
τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναι δίχα.

Agreeing with the critics that μυθοῦσθαι is not an allowable form, I cannot adopt the transposition by which Ahrens has extracted θυμοῦσθαι from the traces of the text. The tone of the whole passage, especially the occurrence of μαντευσόμεσθα in the words to which the second couplet replies, seems to me to show that we ought to read μυθεῖσθαι in the sense of pronouncing formally or oracularly; so Hom. *Od.* viii. 79:

ὥς γάρ οἱ χρεῖων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, ὅθ' ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδὸν
χρησόμενος.

XXI.

vv. 1572—1575:

τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας
ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος·
ἄσημα δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοία λαβὼν
ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, ὥς ὄρῃς, γένει.

There seems to be little reason to doubt that the true reading in the second of these lines is ἔκρυπτ' for ἔθρυπτ', an emendation

which Paley attributes to Hermann, but which is as old as Casaubon. But there are some difficulties in this cannibal description, which have not yet been removed. Atreus gives a grand entertainment to celebrate the return of Thyestes and the reconciliation of the brothers; there is *προθυμία*, and an appearance of *εὐθυμία*; it is a *κρεουργὸν ἡμᾶρ*, one of those occasions, in which the folds were emptied to load the tables and the altars. But in the *ἀνδρῶνες εὐτράπεζοι* of a Greek palace, the guests were feasted at different tables. Thus in Pindar's reference to the supposed feast on the flesh of Pelops, we find the event thus described according to the best reading of the passage (*Ol.* i. 48—51):

ὔδατος ὅτι σε πυρὶ ζέουσιν ἀμφ' ἀκμὴν
μαχαίρᾳ τάμον κατὰ μέλη
τραπέζαισί τ' ἄμφι δεύματα κρεῶν
σέθεν διεδαίσαντο καὶ φάγον.

Similarly in the story of Harpagus, which Herodotus probably made up of Greek dramatic materials, according to a practice of his which I have indicated elsewhere, we read (*Herod.* i. 119), that Astyages killed the boy and cut him up limb by limb (*κατὰ μέλας διελὼν*); that separate tables with dishes of mutton were set before the king and the other guests; but that Harpagus had set before him the flesh of his own son, excepting the head and the extremities of his hands and feet, which were laid up apart on a basket covered over (*ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέφ κατακεκαλυμμένα*). All this is plain enough, and accords with the description in *Æschylus*, whose words were probably not unknown to the historian. But there are several peculiarities in the story of Atreus, as it is given in the *Agamemnon*. The poet does not mention the heads of the children. Perhaps this was unnecessary, as he refers to the undistinguishable parts of their bodies (*ἄσημα αὐτῶν*). For the hands and feet would show that the bodies were human, and as it seems that other guests, the friends and companions of the banished prince, partook of the horrid feast, this would be enough for them. The identification of the bodies, by means of the heads and faces, was reserved for the unhappy father himself. Another point of difficulty is the implication in v. 1583, that twelve sons of *Ægisthus* were thus inhumanly butchered and cooked. According to the common accounts the sons of

Thyestes murdered by Atreus were two, Tantalus and Pleisthenes; according to one account, they were three, Aglaus, Orchomenus, and Callæus; according to another account, only one child was so destroyed. The difficulty occasioned by the reference to the twelve children has appeared so great to Emperius and Hermann, that they have sought to avoid it by altering the text of v. 1583. The former reads (*Opuscula*, p. 134):

τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἔλιπε καθλίφ πατρὶ
 ξυνεξελαύνει.

Hermann proposes:

τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπίδεχ' ἀθλίφ πατρί,

with this interrogative explanation of the new word which he has introduced: "quid autem si ἐπιδέξ passive dictum sit de eo qui post alios acceptus sit, ut hic de Ægistho post mactatos fratres patri nato?" These critics have not noticed the fact, that in the story of Herodotus the murdered son of Harpagus is said to have been "thirteen years old," (ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κον μάλιστα γεγονώς), which might be assumed as the age of the eldest of the family, supposing that the thirteenth and youngest was a baby in swaddling clothes. It is true that the murdered children are called βρέφη (1065), but they are also designated more generally as νέους (1189), and of course the majority were βρέφη. It seems to me not unlikely that, in the view of the matter accepted or excogitated by Æschylus, there was a whole chorus of twelve murdered children. This would not only give the deed the μέγεθος required by Aristotle (*Poët.* c. vi.), but would also render more pictorial and terrible the vision of Cassandra in vv. 1188—1195. As whole hecatombs were slaughtered for great feasts, the number would not be excessive. Besides, it was only the viscera that were served up to the guests (ἐν ἐντέροις σπλάγχνα); if their whole bodies had been cut up they could hardly have appeared with the roasted flesh in their hands, as Cassandra is made to describe them. On the whole then, I am disposed to maintain that this passage requires no alteration except the old correction ἐκρυπτε, and I understand it to mean that Atreus sat apart in gloomy state; and, when the feast was over, unveiled to the eyes of his brother and the other guests the mangled corpses of the twelve sons, all laid out in the dark recess at the upper

end of the apartment, with an exclamation of *δρᾶν πάρεστι!* like that at the end of the *Antigone*.

XXII.

vv. 1636, 1637:

εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις ἐχοίμεθ' ἂν
δαίμονος χολῇ βαρεῖα δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι.

We ought to read *χολῇ* with two of the MSS., cf. *Pers.* 517; *Eumen.* 343; *Soph. Antig.* 1316. For *ἄλις* I proposed some years ago (*ad Antig.* 1241) that we should read *ἄκος*, and I think that this is a certain and necessary correction: see above 379; *ἄκος* δὲ πᾶν μάταιον, and cf. *Eumen.* 615: *ἔστι τοῦδ' ἄκος*. *Pers.* 623: *εἰ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλεόν.* This presumes also the emendation *δεχοίμεθ' ἂν* for *ἐχοίμεθ' ἂν*.

J. W. DONALDSON.

*Adversaria.*I. *Use of the Aorist in the Greek of the New Testament.*

(1). WINER says (*Gram.* § 41) that it cannot with certainty be proved that the aorist stands for the perfect anywhere in the New Testament (Dass der A: für das P: stehe, lässt sich aus keiner stelle mit sicherheit darthun).

(2). Mr Ellicott adopts this conclusion, and extends it still farther, by the assertion that the aorist can never be translated by the English perfect¹. Mr Alford maintains the same view in many of his notes. Neither of these writers however make their practice consistent with their theory; for they both frequently translate the aorist by the English perfect².

(3). Mr Lightfoot, in his very able paper in the last No. of

¹ See Ellicott on Gal. ii. 10, where such a translation is stigmatised as "an oversight."

² Mr Ellicott translates the aorist by the English perfect at Gal. i. 13, iii. 3, iii. 27, and many other passages. Mr

Alford objects to translate *δοθέντος* (Rom. v. 5) *having been given*, yet translates *δικαιωθέντες* (Rom. v. 9) '*having been justified*,' and *ἐλάβομεν* (Rom. v. 11) '*we have received*.'

this Journal¹ (p. 96), states his opinion that the aorist must sometimes (both in Classical and in Hellenistic Greek) be *translated* by the English perfect; *but that it is never used in the New Testament for the Greek perfect.*

From this last opinion I venture to differ: but, before giving my reasons for doing so, it will save confusion to remind the reader of the fundamental character of the two tenses in Classical Greek, which is as follows. The perfect *places the completion of the act in the time present to the speaker.* It is (according to the definition adopted by Mr Lightfoot) the *præteritum in præsentī.* It says, "I have done it *now*." The aorist *places the completion of the act in the past*—"I did it *formerly*."

If then a past tense is (in any language) habitually joined to the word "*now*," such past tense is (in that language) used as a *præteritum in præsentī*; i. e. it is used in the same sense as the Greek perfect.

Let us apply this *experimentum crucis* to the language of the Greek Testament.

In the following passages *νῦν* is joined with the aorist indicative.

Matt. xxvi. 65. *Νῦν ἰκούσατε τὴν βλασφημίαν.*

Luke xix. 42. *Νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν.*

John xiii. 31. *Νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱός.*

John xxi. 10. *τῶν ὀψαρίων ὃν ἐπιάσατε νῦν.*

Acts vii. 52. *νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότηι ἐγένεσθε.*

Rom. v. 11. *δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν*³.

Rom. vii. 6. *νυνὶ δὲ καταργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*⁴.

¹ While referring to this article, I may perhaps be allowed to express my regret that its writer, while pointing out Mr Stanley's philological inaccuracies with so much severity, did not do more full justice to the merits of the exegetical portion of Mr Stanley's work. I do not believe there is any other edition of the Epistles to the Corinthians, where the connexion of St Paul's thoughts is so ably traced; nor any in which the important difficulties are more carefully and satisfactorily discussed. As examples of the latter merit, let the reader refer to the notes on *διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου* (1 Cor. xi. 10),

βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν (ib. xv. 29), on the *gift of tongues*, (1 Cor. xiv.), and on *ἐδόθη σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί* (2 Cor. xii. 7).

² That is, when *now* refers to the time present to the speaker; for *now* may be sometimes used *narratively*, not of the present time; e.g. 'His right wing having given way, the Emperor now resolved to try a last charge;' where the *now* is properly joined to the aorist both in English and Greek.

³ Translated by Mr Alford, 'we have now received.'

⁴ Translated by Mr Alford, 'now have we been delivered.'

Rom. xi. 30. νῦν δὲ ἡλεήθητε¹.

Rom. xi. 31. οὗτοι νῦν ἠπειθήσαν².

Eph. ii. 13. νυνὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς, οἳ ποτε ὄντες μακράν, ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθητε³.

Eph. iii. 5. νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἀγίοις⁴.

Col. i. 21. νυνὶ δὲ ἀποκατήλλαξεν.

Col. i. 26. ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων...νυνὶ δὲ ἐφανερώθη.

1 Pet. i. 12. ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν.

1 Pet. ii. 25. ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε νῦν.

In the following passages νῦν is joined with the aorist participle.

Rom. v. 9. δικαιωθέντες νῦν⁵.

Rom. vi. 22. νυνὶ δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες.

Rom. xvi. 25, 26. χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσχημένον, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν.

Gal. iv. 8, 9. τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες...νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν⁶.

2 Tim. i. 10. φανερωθείσαν δὲ νῦν.

1 Pet. ii. 10. οἱ οὐκ ἡλεημένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.

Mr Lightfoot says that those cases, (both in Classical Writers and in the New Testament) where the Greek aorist must be translated by the English perfect, are to be referred merely to "a difference of idiom between Greek and English." But he would, I think, admit that no such difference of idiom will furnish a solution to the passages cited above.

He refers, on this subject, to Dr Kennedy's remarks at Vol. I. p. 317 of this Journal. Dr Kennedy there says, "A *boy* should never be allowed to use the word *have* in rendering the Greek aorist;" but he goes on to remark that there are cases where, in an idiomatic English translation, the word *have* must be used; and he instances δίκαι' ἔλεξας (addressed to one who has just ceased speaking). In this case, if the English translator renders it "you have justly spoken," there is a real difference of idiom; but the Greek aorist is not used for the perfect; and even in English it would be perfectly correct to say, "you spoke justly—(viz. twenty seconds ago)."

Some grammarians, indeed, go so far as to say that even in

¹ Translated by Mr Alford, 'ye now have received mercy.'

² Translated by Mr Alford, 'these have now disobeyed.'

³ Translated by Mr Ellicott, 'are made nigh.'

⁴ Translated by Mr Ellicott, 'it hath now been revealed.'

⁵ Translated by Mr Alford, 'having now been justified.'

⁶ Translated by Mr Ellicott, '.... now, after that ye have known God.'

Classical Greek the distinction between the aorist and perfect is not rigidly maintained. Thus Jelf (§ 404) says—"The aorist is sometimes used for the perfect, where the continuance of the action in its effects may be omitted¹;" and he cites Demosth. *Olynth.* 2. *νυνὶ δὲ Θετταλοῖς *** ἐβόηθησε.* In this passage, however, the junction of the *νυνὶ* with the aorist is broken by the interposition of a whole sentence; and probably the aorist was used instead of the perfect, only to correspond with the aorists *ὑπῆρξε* and *ἐφάνη*, which are the principal verbs in the two preceding clauses. But however this may be, no one will deny that the cases where the aorist is thus "used for the perfect" in Classical Greek are exceedingly rare. Whereas, in the New Testament, *νῦν* is joined with the aorist more frequently than with the perfect².

For the sake of brevity, I have omitted to cite the passages where the aorist is joined with *ἦδη*³. I have also not quoted any of the numerous passages in which the context seems to me to necessitate its being taken in a perfect sense; because considerations of context may be always more or less matters of dispute; whereas the junction of the aorist with *νῦν*, in the passages above cited, is indisputable.

In conclusion, I ought to add that I agree with Mr Lightfoot in vindicating the sacred writers from the charge of *grammatical inaccuracy* in this particular. It was no *inaccuracy* in them, if they used the aorist in the sense which it bore in the dialect which they spoke. No doubt, it was a great imperfection in that dialect, that it should have lost the observance of the distinction

¹ So Buttmann says (§ 137), 'The aorist narrates what has occurred, without any presupposition or reference: but if this be sufficiently apparent from the context, the aorist may be used instead of the perfect. In *Xen. Mem.* i. 6—14, Socrates says, *τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, διέρχομαι*, where the sense obviously requires the perfect.' And Matthiæ says (§ 500), "The aorist is sometimes used, where, accurately speaking, the perfectum should be put. Thus *Demosth. in Midiam*, p. 576, 23, *οὐχ ὁ ἐσκεμμένος οὐδ' ὁ μεριμνήσας τὰ δικάλα λέγειν νῦν*, for *μεμεριμνηκώς*."

² *Nῦν* (or *νυνὶ* in the same sense) is joined with the aorist in the twenty-one passages quoted above; it is joined with the perfect in fourteen passages, viz. John viii. 52; John xi. 22; John xii. 27; John xiv. 29; John xv. 24; John xvi. 30; John xvi. 32; John xvii. 7; Acts iii. 17; Acts xii. 11; 2 Thess. ii. 6, (in the three last-mentioned passages with *οἷα*) Heb. ix. 26; Heb. xii. 26; 1 Cor. xv. 20.

³ Of these Phil. iii. 12 is very noticeable (*ἦδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἦδη τετελεῖμαι*) from the parallelism between the aorist and perfect.

between aorist and perfect. So it was an imperfection of the Latin that it had retained but a single tense to serve for both. But Cicero cannot be charged with inaccuracy because he used the same *præterite* to express either meaning.

W. J. CONYBEARE.

P.S.—In order to avoid misconception, it may be well to add that the above remarks are meant to apply only to the *indicative* and *participle* of the aorist.

[THE meaning of the aorist generally, and its use in the New Testament, are subjects much too wide to be treated properly in a cursory manner; but Mr Conybeare's special argument ought not to pass without a few words of protest. The main question at issue is whether the juxtaposition of *νῦν* gives the aorist the force of the perfect in the New Testament. Mr C. assumes that *νῦν* always means "at the present moment of time," that is, either present to the speaker, or present to the action spoken of. But *νῦν* really has several other meanings even in classical Greek, and still more in the later language, including that of the New Testament. It will be sufficient to notice those with which we are here concerned.

1. As a particle of time, "lately," or more strictly like our "just," "just now," "but now," when used of a recent occurrence. The commoner classical form in this sense is *νῦν δῆ*; but Plato also uses *νῦν*, as *Phædr.* 259 E: Οὐκοῦν, ὅπερ νῦν προϋθέμεθα, σκέψασθαι τὸν λόγον..., σκεπτέον; *Polit.* 307 C. ἐν πᾶσι τε δὴ τοῖς τοῖς νῦν εἵπομεν κ.τ.λ.; and Demosthenes, *De fals. leg.* § 65, p. 361: "Ὅτε γὰρ νῦν ἐπορευόμεθα εἰς Δελφοὺς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν ὁρᾶν ἡμῖν πάντα ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.; and (*νυνὶ*) Aristophanes, *Nub.* 786 (Bekker's and Dindorf's reading);

ἄλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπιλήθεις σύ γ' ἄτ' ἂν καὶ μάθης·

Ἐπεὶ τί νυνὶ πρῶτον ἐδιδάχθης; λέγε.

and 825 (Hermann's, Bekker's, and Dindorf's reading),

*Ωμοσας νυνὶ Δία.

We have the same sense in Xenophon, *De vect.* 4. § 40: τὰς ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ γεγενημένας εἰσφορὰς, where Sauppe shews that not "the present" but "the recent war" is intended: and so in Justin Martyr, *Ap.* i. 31: Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ [γενομένῳ] Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8, in much better MSS.] ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχαχέβας

..; *Dial.* 1: *φυγὸν τὸν νῦν γεγόμενον πόλεμον*, the war in question ing ceased at least three, probably eleven years previously; [*Ap.* i. 30: *Ἀντιοχίου τοῦ νῦν γεγενημένου* [*γεγομένου* Euseb. l. c.], tinous having died at least eight, probably sixteen years before. Valois observes on these quotations in Eusebius: "*Nūn* nim dici potest de re quæ nostra ætate facta est. Idemque alet ac τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς, quod Eusebius usurpare solet de rebus multo ante gestis. * * Certe Græci νῦν ponunt pro *nuper*. Ita Sophronius, qui librum Hieronymi de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis Græce vertit, verba illa Hieronymi, cap. 2. *Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebræos et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est*, Græce dixit: *ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ Ῥωμαικὴν γλῶτταν μετεβλήθη*." To this head appear to belong the following passages cited by Mr Conybeare, *John* xxi. 10; *Acts* vii. 52; 1 *Pet.* i. 12.

2. As a particle of time, denoting not the present moment, but the present period or dispensation; the past introduction into which is naturally often identified in language with its present continuance or renewal, by means of the aorist. The idea is so peculiarly Christian, that examples in heathen writers are not likely to be frequent. A remarkable one occurs in Aristophanes's discourse in Plato's *Symposium*, 193 A: *Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ, ὥσπερ λέγω, ἐν ἡμεν· νυνὶ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν διωκίσθημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καθάπερ Ἀρκάδες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων*; and Sophocles (*Æd. Col.* 367—373) writes much in the same way:

Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἔρως Κρέοντί τε
Θρόνους εἶσθαι κ.τ.λ.
Νῦν δ' ἐκ θεῶν του καὶ ἀλιτηροῦ φρενὸς
Εἰσῆλθε τοῖν τρισαθλίοις ἔρις κακὴ,
Ἀρχῆς λαβέσθαι καὶ κράτους τυρανικοῦ.

Such language is natural enough in the Fathers, as *Ep. ad Diogn.* 1: *τί δὴ ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον*; and, perhaps less obviously, Justin Martyr, *Ap.* i. 63: *Ἄλλ' εἰς ἀπόδειξιν γεγονάσιν οἷδε οἱ λόγοι ὅτι υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶ, πρότερον λόγος ὢν, καὶ ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ποτὲ φανεῖς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰκόσι ἀσωμάτων· νῦν δὲ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἄνθρωπος γεγόμενος ὑπέμεινε καὶ παθεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.* (where however the meaning "lately" is also admissible). This use of νῦν belongs to a great many of the passages in the New Testament: *Rom.* v.

particular action, as marked by the *νῦν*. In Phil. iii. 12, the opposition of tenses is most emphatic and significant. St Paul has been speaking of the grounds for pride which he had before his conversion, how he now counts them as dung that he may win Christ and be made a partaker in His sufferings, His death, and at last, if it may be, His resurrection: "not", he says, "that I at once [on my conversion] obtained that blessing, or have now already been made perfect therein; but I follow after &c." Distinct reference is made to the past change in his life at v. 8 (*ὅτι ὁν πάντα ἐξημώθη*), and again at the end of v. 12 (*ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ*); so that there is no difficulty in finding a similar allusion here: and the distinction between *ἔλαβον* and *τετελείωμαι* answers to that comparison of the beginning and the consummation of spiritual life, which underlies so many of St Paul's thoughts.

F. J. A. H.]

II. *Prof. Jowett and Philo.*

IN his essay, "St Paul and Philo," appended to the Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, Professor Jowett gives "a short analysis" of Philo's treatise "De Mundi Creatione," which analysis (he tells us) "including as it does most of his peculiarities, will give the reader an idea of his method of proceeding." Considering the greatness of the questions which have been stirred by Mr Jowett's volumes, it may perhaps appear a trifling matter to inquire, how far the analysis of Philo's treatise really does give the reader, who is unacquainted with the treatise itself, a fair view of Philo's method: nevertheless, upon the general ground, that accuracy is always desirable, and on the particular, that Philo's meaning, whether worth knowing or not, is certainly not to be gathered from Mr Jowett's analysis, I will venture to give a few corrections from Philo himself. I am the more disposed to do so as a Cambridge man, because Philo's *Mathematics* (to which I propose entirely to confine myself) have been mistaken by Mr Jowett, and he has been made to write sheer nonsense, when he did in fact write that which, however fanciful, was still, mathematically speaking, very good sense.

"He (Philo) says, that God made the world in six days,

hot because He had need of time, but because six is a perfect number, capable of being divided by two, by three, and by six, and is male and female, and odd and even." Jowett, Vol. I. p. 376.

Philo writes, 'Ἐξ δὲ ἡμέραις δημιουργηθῆναι φησι τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσεδεῖτο τοῦ χρόνων μήκους ὁ ποιῶν,—ἀμα γὰρ πάντα δρᾶν εἰκὸς θεόν, οὐ προστάττοντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοούμενον,—ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς γινομένοις ἔδει τάξεως. Τάξει δὲ ἀριθμὸς οἰκεῖον, ἀριθμῶν δὲ φύσεως νόμοις γεννητικώτατος ὁ ἕξ. Τῶν τε γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος πρῶτος τελειὸς ἐστίν, ἰσούμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι, καὶ συμπληρούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἡμίσεος μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ διάδος, ἕκτου δὲ μονάδος, καὶ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἄρρην τε καὶ θῆλυν εἶναι πέφυκε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκατέρου δυνάμεως ἤρμους. Ἄρρην μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτιον θῆλυν· περιττῶν μὲν οὖν ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ τριάς, διὰς δὲ ἀρτίων, ἡ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν δύναμις, ἕξας. Ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κόσμον τελειώτατον μὲν ὄντα τῶν γεγονότων κατ' ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγῆναι, τὸν ἕξ· ἐν ἑαυτῷ δὲ ἔχειν μέλλοντα τὰς ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ γενέσεις, πρὸς μικτὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρτιοπερίττον τυπωθῆναι, περιέξοντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σπείροντος ἄρρηνος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου τὰς γονὰς θήλειος ιδέαν. (p. 3, M.)

That is to say, the number six was chosen because it is the first *perfect* number after unity, being made up of the sum of its factors, namely, of three which is its half, of two which is its third, and of unity which is its sixth part; or in an algebraical form

$$6 = 3 + 2 + 1.$$

Thus it will be seen that Philo uses the term *perfect number* in its purely technical sense, or as representing a *number which is equal to the sum of its factors*; and if unity be reckoned as a factor it is true, as Philo states, that six is the first perfect number after unity. It need hardly be added, that this definition of a *perfect number* was quite familiar to Alexandrian mathematicians: in fact Euclid's definition agrees precisely with the language of Philo: *τέλειος ἀριθμὸς ἐστίν, ὁ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν ἴσος ὢν*. Elements, Book VII. Def. 22.

Next with regard to six being "male and female:" it will be seen by reference to the above quotation that what Philo says is this, that six is (so to speak) male and female and combines the powers of both, for an odd number is taken as the symbol of the male sex, as an even is of the female: now *two* is the first even number, and *three* is the first odd number, and therefore *six*, which is the product of these, is the symbol of the union of the

sexes, or of the propagation of life in the world which God had made.

Lastly, Philo does not say that six is "odd and even," which is quite unintelligible, but that it is a mixed number, and the first mixed number which is *pariter impar*. *Pariter impar*, it need hardly be said, is the technical term for those mixed numbers whose general type is $4n + 2$, as *pariter par* is for those whose type is $4n$. By the term *μικτός* Philo evidently means *composite*, which Euclid calls *σύνθετος*.

Thus it will be seen, that however little we may feel disposed to agree with Philo, in his views of the reasons for the selection of the number six as the number of creative days, still, all that he says is expressed intelligibly, and with strict attention to arithmetical terminology.

It may be worth while to observe that Gfrörer, to whom Mr Jowett acknowledges his obligations, has equally mistaken Philo in this matter. He gives the following as a translation of what Philo says of the number six. "Denn sie ist die erste vollkommene Zahl nach der Einheit, aus gleichen Theilen zusammengesetzt. Ihre Hälfte ist die Dreiheit, ihr Drittheil die Zweizahl, ihr Sechstheil die Einheit; sie ist zugleich männlich und weiblich, wir nennen nämlich männlich die ungerade Zahl, weiblich die gerade. Die erste der ungleichen oder männlichen Zahlen ist die Dreiheit, unter den weiblichen die Zweiheit. Die aus beiden zusammengesetzte Kraft ist die Sechszahl. Nach dieser, als der vollkommensten, musste die Welt, als das vollkommenste Ganze, gebildet werden." The notion of the connexion of the world as the *most* perfect of things, with six as the *most* perfect number, is Gfrörer's and not Philo's, as will be seen by reference to the Greek given above, in which Philo speaks of the *κόσμος* as *τελειότατος*, but of six simply as *ἀριθμὸς τέλειος*; and this remark spoils the wit of what follows: here it is. "Hier erklärt Philo die Sechszahl für die vollkommenste. Allein es herrscht die grösste Willkühr in seinem Zahlenbestimmungen. Denn je nachdem es in seinem Kram taugt, muss bald die Sieben, bald die Zehn, bald die Vier die vollkommenste seyn." (Gfrörer. Philo und die Alex. Theosophie, Vol. 1. p. 332).

"When the heavens and the earth were completed, God hallowed the seventh day. Here Philo branches forth into the praises of the number seven, in a digression which occupies

many pages. He first divides seven into two kinds, *ἐκτὸς τῆς δεκάδος* and *εἰς τὴν δεκάδα* (outside ten and within ten,) meaning, by the first of the two, arithmetical progression of seven numbers, with intervals of twos and threes, containing the image of cube and square, of essence and superficies." Jowett, Vol. I. p. 377.

The passage in Philo, upon which this statement is founded, it is perhaps hardly worth while to print *in extenso*, but the meaning is as follows. Philo speaks of *seven*, or the seventh, *ἑβδόμη*, in two senses; first, as being formed from unity *μονὰς* (which is according to the ancient notion, *πάντων ἀρχή*¹) by simple progression according to the natural numbers, and this he calls *ἐκτὸς δεκάδος*; secondly, as being formed from unity by geometrical progression, (not *arithmetical*, as Mr Jowett says,) the ratio of the progression being 2, 3, or any other number, and this he calls *εἰς τὴν δεκάδα*. Philo treats of the latter first and illustrates his meaning by reference to the numbers 64 and 729; the former is the hebdomad in the series,

$$1, 2, 2^2, 2^3, 2^4, 2^5, 2^6,$$

the latter in the series,

$$1, 3, 3^2, 3^3, 3^4, 3^5, 3^6;$$

for it will be seen that $2^6 = 64$, and $3^6 = 729$. Philo goes on to remark this property of such hebdomads, namely, that whether the ratio be 2 or 3, or indeed any number, the hebdomad is always at once a *cube* and a *square*; that is,

$$2^6 = (2^3)^2 \text{ and also } = (2^2)^3,$$

$$3^6 = (3^3)^2 \text{ and also } = (3^2)^3,$$

$$\text{and generally } r^6 = (r^3)^2 \text{ and also } = (r^2)^3.$$

Now a cube is the symbol of the corporeal, having the three dimensions, length, breadth and thickness, which are necessary to solid bodies; and a square, in like manner, having only length and breadth, and therefore representing no material substance, may be taken as the symbol of the incorporeal; hence these hebdomads may be taken to represent at once both the corporeal and the incorporeal.

Next with regard to the simple number seven, the hebdomad

¹ On the ancient notions of unity, see Peacock's article on Arithmetic. *Encyc. Metrop.* p. 421.

ἐντὸς δεκάδος. Out of a large number of curious properties given by Philo, Mr Jowett cites a few.

"Seven is like God, 'neither begetting nor begotten,' οὐτε γεννῶν οὐτε γεννώμενος."

By saying that seven is neither begetting nor begotten Philo means that seven is the only number ἐντὸς δεκάδος, of which it can be asserted that it is neither formed by any of the others nor used in forming them. This he says may be easily proved. The following would be the proof: prime numbers of course need alone be considered, that is, we may confine our attention to 1, 3, 5, 7. Unity is the foundation of all the rest; 3 is a factor of 6 and 9; 5 is a factor of 10; 7 is not a factor of any number ἐντὸς δεκάδος. Hence what Philo says is perfectly true and perfectly intelligible, however fanciful his conclusion.

Again, "It agrees with nature, and, if multiplied by four, answers to the time of the moon."

The latter part of the sentence does not represent Philo. Having discussed those properties of the number seven, above referred to, which (as he says) led certain philosophers to compare the number seven to Minerva, springing complete from the head of Jupiter, and the Pythagoreans to compare it to the supreme governor of all things, he goes on thus: "Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς νοητοῖς τὸ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀπαθὲς ἐπιδείκνυται ἑβδομάς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς μεγάλην καὶ συνεκτικωτάτην δύναμιν, οἷς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα πέφυκε βελτιοῦσθαι, σελήνης τε περιόδου. Ὁν δὲ τρόπον, ἐπισκεπτέον." p. 24, M. He then connects the number seven with the period of the moon, not by multiplying it by four, which would be a very arbitrary and unintelligible process, but thus: he tells us that if we add up all the natural numbers beginning from unity and going up to seven, we shall form the number 28, that this is a perfect number, being equal to the sum of its factors¹, and that it corresponds to the moon's period. Philo is quite correct. For

$$1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 = 28;$$

and the factors of 28 are 1, 2, 4, 7, 14;

$$\text{but } 1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28.$$

Again, "It is a cube and a plane figure at once."

¹ I observe that in Bohn's translation the meaning of a perfect number seems to have been missed. The

translator has the words, "a perfect number, being equalised in its parts," which is simply unintelligible.

This seems to be founded upon the passage in Philo, which follows one (quoted by Mr Jowett) in which allusion is made to the seven ages of man. Having quoted from Hippocrates a passage concerning the division of human life into periods of seven years, he adds: "Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο πρὸς διασύστασιν ἑβδομάδης, ὡς θαυμαστὴν ἔχούσης ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν, ἐπεὶ συνίστηται ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων. Τὸν μὲν τρίτον ἀπὸ μονάδος εἰ διπλασιάζοι τις, εὐρήσει τετράγωνον, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον, κύβον. Τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἑβδομον, κύβον ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μονάδος τρίτος, ἐν διπλασίῳ λόγῳ τετράγωνός ἐστιν. Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος, ὁκτῶ, κύβος. Ὁ δὲ ἑβδομος τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα, κύβος ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράγωνος, ὡς εἶναι τελεσφόρον ὅπως τὸν ἑβδομον ἀριθμὸν, ἀμφοτέρως τὰς ἰσότητας καταγγέλλοντα, τὴν τε ἐπίπεδον διὰ τετραγώνου, κατὰ τὴν τριάδος συγγένειαν, καὶ τὴν στερεὰν διὰ κύβου, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τετράδα οἰκειότητα. Ἐκ τριάδος δὲ καὶ τετράδος, ἑβδομάς." p. 26, M. The whole passage has not perhaps his usual clearness; he is however again dealing with the series,

$$2^0, 2^1, 2^2, 2^3, 2^4, 2^5, 2^6,$$

in which it is true that the third term is a square, viz. 4, and the fourth a cube, viz. 8, and the seventh both a cube and a square, viz. 64.

So much for Philo and the number seven; fanciful as his speculations are, there is a kind of grandeur in the zeal and ingenuity with which he ransacks heaven and earth, and all the sciences, for illustrations of his theme; he has written a poem (as it were) in celebration of the Hebdomad; but any one who took his notions of the subject solely from Mr Jowett's analysis would scarcely be in a condition to do Philo justice. Indeed Gfrörer seems to have hit the truth when he says, as quoted by Mr Jowett,

"Though this be madness, yet there's method in it."

The points upon which I have remarked will probably be rectified by Mr Jowett in a future edition of his work; may I venture to hint that he might find several others, not connected with mathematics, in which his analysis scarcely conveys to a reader unacquainted with Philo a fair view of his meaning?

H. GOODWIN.

*Anecdota.**A Fragment of St Dionysius of Alexandria.*

AMONG the many lost writings of the great and wise St Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria in the third century, is an epistle addressed to one Conon or Colon bishop of Hermopolis, on Repentance¹. It is mentioned in a series of letters on the question of the Lapsed which arose out of the Decian persecution, and therefore may be referred to about the year 251. The existing fragments belonging to this period are short and few: and the Epistle to Colon has been supposed to have perished entirely². A fragment however is preserved in a MS. of the Cambridge University Library (Ee. 4. 29. ff. 86 b—87 b), written in the 12th century, containing a number of Greek ecclesiastical documents. The fragment occurs after the 13th canon of the Council of Nicæa, headed with a fresh red line and separate title. It is perhaps the authority appealed to in the text of the canon (ap. Beveridge, *Pand. Can.* i. 74) as “the old and canonical law” (ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος) on the same subject. The substance likewise corresponds with certain directions mentioned by St Dionysius, in an extant fragment of an epistle to Fabius bishop of Antioch³, as lately given by himself. Even this small addition to the treasured relics of the Antenicene period should not be despised; for it bears clear testimony to the merciful wisdom which made its author the most successful and honoured bishop of his day, as well as a worthy disciple of Origen in learning and philosophy. It has been printed as it stands in the MS., the punctuation alone being corrected, and an obvious gloss removed. I have also reprinted from Mai’s *Classici Auctores* a similar fragment of St Dionysius, which may belong either to this or to some of his other writings on repentance.

Διονυσίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας, περὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενομένης συνόδου, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Κόλωνα ἐπιστολῆς· περὶ τῶν παραπεσόντων ἐν

¹ Καὶ πρὸς Κόλωνα (τῆς Ἑρμυπολιτῶν δὲ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν οὗτος) ἴδια τις περὶ μετανοίας αὐτοῦ φέρεται γραφή. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 46. For Κόλωνα Codd. E.G.I. (*secunda manu*) read Κόλωνα.

² No traces of it occur in Gallandi’s collection (*Bibl. Pat.* iii. 479—540,

Venice, 1767), or in recent literary histories. I have not had access to the Roman edition of Simon a Magistris.

³ Ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δεδομένης, τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέουτο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἰκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ὡς εὐέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττονται κ.τ.λ. Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 44.

ιωγμῶ, καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ βίου αἰτούντων τυχεῖν ἀφέσεως, τούτεστι κοι-
νωρίας μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιζησάντων.

Καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τῇ ἐξόδῳ γενομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέονται καὶ ἱκετεύ-
μεν, ἀφέσεως τυχεῖν, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες εἰς ἣν ἀπίσαι κρίσιν, καὶ λογιζό-
μενοι ἃ πείσονται δεσμῶται καὶ κατάδικοι παραδοθέντες, πιστεύοντες, εἰ ἐντεῦθεν
λυθεῖεν, ἄνεσιν ἔξειν καὶ κουφισμὸν τῆς ἐκεῖ τιμωρίας, ἀληθὴ γὰρ εἶναι καὶ
βεβαίαν τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θεοῦ,—καὶ τούτους ἐλευθέρους παραπέμπειν, τῆς θεο-
πρεποῦς ἐστὶ φιланθρωπίας. Εἰ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιμένειν τῷ βίῳ, δεσμεύ-
ειν μὲν αὐθις καὶ ἐπαχθίζειν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις οὐκ ἀκόλουθόν μοι φαίνεται. Τοὺς
γὰρ ἅπας ἀφεμένους καὶ τῷ θεῷ συστάντας καὶ πάλιν τῆς θείας χάριτος κοινω-
νοὺς ἀποφανθέντας καὶ ὡς ἐλευθέρους πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀπεσταλμένους, μηδεὶς
ἐν τῷ μεταξύ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐτέρως γενομένου, πάλιν ἀνθυπάγειν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν
ἀλογώτατον. Εἴτα τῷ μὲν θεῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας κρίσεως ὅρους δώσομεν φυλαχ-
θισμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, αὐτοὶ δὲ τούτοις οὐ τηρήσομεν, κατεπαγγελλόμενοι μὲν
τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ κυρίου, ἀφαιρούμενοι δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν; Εἰ μέντοι φαίνοί-
τε μετὰ τὸ ραῖσαι πλείονος ἐπιστροφῆς δεόμενος, ἐκόντι συμβουλευόμεν ταπει-
νοῦν καὶ κακοῦν καὶ συστέλλειν ἑαυτὸν, εἷς τε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέρον ἀφορῶντα
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀνεπιληπτον. Καὶ
γεθόμενος μὲν ὀνήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἀπειθοίῃ καὶ ἀντιλέγοι, τότε δὴ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα
ἵσταται αὐτῷ ἵκανον πρὸς ἀφορισμὸν δεύτερον.

After the words εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θεοῦ the following corrupt gloss
occurs as if part of the text. Εὐδοκίαν λέγει τὴν δεδομένην τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
τοῦ λύειν καὶ δεσμεῖν ἐξουσίαν, ἥτοι τὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δοθείσαν τοῦ λύειν καὶ
δεσμεῖν ἐξουσίαν.

For αὐτοὶ δὲ τούτοις the MS. has αὐτοῖς δὲ τούτοις; and for κατεπαγ-
γελλόμενοι κατεπαγγελλόμενοι.

(Mai, *Class. Auct.* x. 484, from a catena in the Vatican library).

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ. Νῦν δὲ τούναντίον ποιούμεν ἡμεῖς· ὃν γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀγα-
θὸς ὢν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη πλανώμενον ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ ἀποφεύγοντα προσκαλεῖται καὶ
εὐρεθέντα μόλις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αἶρει, τοῦτον προσίοντα θρασέως ἀπολακτίζομεν.
Ἀλλὰ μὴ οὕτω κακῶς περὶ ἑαυτῶν βουλευόμεθα, μηδὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὠθώμεν τὸ
ξίφος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικεῖν τινὰς ἢ τούναντίον εὐεργετεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκεῖνους
μὲν οὐ πάντως ἔδρασαν ὑπὲρ ἠθέλησαν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κακίαν ἢ ἀγαθότητα συνοι-
κίσαντες ἢ θείων ἀρετῶν ἢ ἀτιθάσων παθῶν ἔκπλειοι ἔσονται· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν
ἀγγέλων ἀγαθῶν ὁπαδοὶ καὶ ξυνοδοιπόροι καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐκεῖ ξὺν πάσῃ εἰρήνῃ
καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ πάντων κακῶν εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ ὄντα αἰῶνα τὰς μακαριωτάτας ἀποκλη-
ρώσσονται λήξεις, καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ αἰεὶ ἔσονται, τὸ πάντων ἀγαθὸν μέγιστον· οὗτοι
δὲ ἀποπεσοῦνται τῆς θείας ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν εἰρήνης, καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ μετὰ
θάνατον ἅμα τοῖς παλαμναίοις ἔσονται δαίμοσιν. Μὴ οὖν ἀποπεμπώμεθα τοὺς
ἐπιστρέφοντας, ἀλλ' ἀσμένως δεχώμεθα, καὶ τοῖς ἀπλανεῖσιν ἐναριθμώμεν, καὶ
τὸ ἐλλείπον ἀναπληρώμεν.

F. J. A. HORT.

Notices of New Books.

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA. *The Tragedies of Æschylus. Re-edited with an English Commentary.* By F. A. PALEY. London, Whittaker & Co. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. 604.

[Mr Paley's commentary on Æschylus was so comely in its Latin dress, that we are almost sorry to see it in any other guise. As it was necessary however to bring it into uniformity with the other editions of the "Bibliotheca Classica," it is much to Mr Paley's credit that he has not abused the license, which the use of his native tongue gave him.

The plan of this edition differs slightly from that of its predecessors; Mr Paley has here given more prominence to the explanation of the language, frequently adding translations of whole passages, and curtailing such remarks as referred merely to textual criticism. The commentary is thus rendered more popular, without however sacrificing its interest for scholars. The preface contains some just observations on the characteristics of Æschylus, and short introductory notices are prefixed to each play. There is besides a general, but meagre index, and the fragments are entirely omitted.

We have carefully compared parts of this volume with Mr Paley's earlier editions. Want of room prevents us from entering into details, but the general result is decidedly in favour of our editor's *τρίται φρονήσεις*. The influence of Hermann has assumed a more consistent form: notes in which Mr Paley had before misread the great German critic are corrected or omitted; in cases where he was at first led astray by such high authority, his cooler judgment has now interposed: and generally where he has had occasion to alter his opinion from the second Latin edition, the change is for the better. To say that in some few cases the result is otherwise, is only to claim for Mr Paley the common allowance *ἀμαρτὴν ἀνθρώπων*. Perhaps the greatest subject for congratulation in this last edition is the omission of sundry etymologies,—a province in which Mr Paley seems hitherto to have been unconscious of his weakness.

We would not be misunderstood. We have no wish to place Mr Paley on a level with the great English scholars of the past—no intention of contrasting his good sense with the want of judgment which Hermann at times betrays. We should be the last to deny Hermann's great services to Æschylean literature: his edition must henceforward be the basis of all textual criticism. But it is no mean praise to Mr Paley, that after so great a scholar has tried his hand on our author, he should still remain *the* editor of Æschylus. Those only who have had the misfortune to read the *Supplices*, before Mr Paley's edition appeared, will know how much Æschylus is indebted to him.]

J. B. L.

lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy. By W. ARCHER BUTLER, late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Edited from the author's MSS., with notes, by WILLIAM HEPPWORTH THOMPSON, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge.

It was with much interest that we awaited the publication of this united contribution of two Universities to Philosophical Literature. The Dublin Professor is well known from his *Essay on Development*, and two volumes of *Sermons*, the second edited by another Cambridge Professor, and some perhaps may remember with pleasure the specimen of his lectures on Greek Philosophy, which occurs in the memoir prefixed to one of the volumes. The complete course from which that was taken is now given to us by Professor Thompson, a name always to be associated with Plato by those who have enjoyed the privilege of attending his lectures. The work before us consists of six sets of lectures, the last of which remains unfinished. The Introductory Series is chiefly elementary, pointing out the importance of the study of Philosophy in general, and defining the author's standing point, which is, as might be expected, strongly idealistic. The pure reason is," he says, "a revelation from the reason of the universe to man, which bears with it essentially a character of objective, independent, absolute." Hence the possibility not only of "an inductive science of mind, but also of a deductive science of real existence." Probably the most interesting parts will be the incidental discussions upon words, and the use and abuse of aphoristic writing. It appears from the preface that Prof. Thompson was himself inclined to have excluded this series, and the author would probably have omitted some other common-place declamation if he had revised them with a view to publication, as he frequently dwells upon the differences between oral and written instruction. We have no doubt however that many will be glad to have them as they are.

The first series properly so called begins with an account of the previous historians of Philosophy, and the chief requisites for such a story.

After devoting one lecture to India, Prof. Butler proceeds to describe the development of Greek Philosophy up to the time of Socrates. The bibliographical survey is to our mind the least satisfactory part of the whole work, and we cannot but wish that the editor had here exercised upon a larger scale the privilege which he has taken in particular sentences, and rewritten the chapter, bringing it up to the standard of accuracy required in the present day. There are many omissions and some misstatements: no mention is made by the author of Alexander Aphrodisiensis and Simplicius, who have preserved to us a larger number of important fragments from the earlier philosophers than all other authorities put together: Brucker's "*Historia Doctrinæ de Ideis*," appears under the misleading title of "A History of Ideas:" The History of Jurisprudence by Heineccius is referred to instead of his "*Elementa iur. Phil.*" published in 1743. Many of the dates are wrong, and there

is little discrimination in the use of authorities, spurious writers being quoted without a suspicion of their real character. Again the pre-Socratics, with the exception perhaps of Pythagoras, are very cursorily treated, as the author himself allows, referring to others for details. Upon this portion, however, the very full and satisfactory notes of the editor amply atone for the deficiencies of the text. Prof. Butler's view of the Sophists is marked by moderation and thoughtfulness, and even Socrates has not been so entirely preoccupied by Mr Grote as to render the new portrait superfluous.

In the second Series we have the minor Socratic schools; the Megaric, which is treated in a more full and interesting manner than by Ritter, occupies forty pages, and there is a spirited account of the Cynics and Cyrenaics. The remainder of this and the following Series are taken up with Plato, in describing whose philosophy Prof. Butler shews his highest powers, surpassing in the opinion of his editor, both the French and German historians. The fourth Series is a slight sketch of the fortunes of Platonism, with general remarks upon the eclecticism and scepticism of the later Philosophy. The fifth Series consists merely of an examination of Aristotle's Treatise on the Soul.

It is evident that we have here nothing more than an unfinished picture of Greek Philosophy; but as far as it goes we think it need not fear comparison with anything in English on the same subject. Prof. Butler was not, it is true, a learned man or a critically accurate scholar (though we should make great allowances for the circumstances under which these lectures are brought before the world); but he has the far higher merit of a hearty love of his subject, and a living interest in it. He has that true historical insight which enables a man to enter into the thoughts and feelings of generations far removed from his own, and trace the organic connexion of facts or dogmas which have been handed down in unmeaning isolation: in his own words, "To reconstruct from the precious fossils of history the entire framework of systems now no more."

Of the notes of the editor we have already expressed our opinion. They shew a familiar acquaintance with the mass of modern German literature upon the subject of Greek Philosophy, and are at the same time not wanting in independent criticism. Occasionally however we observe marks of hastiness; references not given, or the errors of the text passed over. In Vol. I. p. 274, we are surprised that there should have been any difficulty in supplying the reference to Herod. III. 81. We are quite at a loss to understand the peculiar excellence of the Ciceroian distribution of philosophy, "*in naturæ obscuritatem, in disserendi subtilitatem, in vitam atque mores,*" I. 72, which seems to us neither more nor less than a round-about expression for the old-fashioned logic, ethics, and physics; indeed in general Prof. Thompson's estimate of Cicero appears to us more favourable than is justified by the facts of the case: at all events we should request our readers to compare with it the very different conclusions arrived at by Madvig in the seventh excursus to his excellent edition of the *De Finibus*. To the authorities mentioned Vol.

ii. p. 79, for the phrase *μηδὲς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσὶν*, we are happy to have the opportunity of adding David the Armenian (Brandis Scholia in Arist. p. 12), quoted in a private letter of the lamented Sir W. Hamilton.

We cannot conclude our notice of this interesting but fragmentary work without expressing a hope that Englishmen may before long cease to be dependent upon the labours of a Brandis or a Zeller, for gaining a knowledge of systems whose importance can hardly be overrated, whether considered with reference to Patristic Theology or Modern Speculation. All that we have of native growth upon this subject is of a merely popular character. Ritter is heavy in German, and unendurable in translation. We think that the editor of Prof. Butler's lectures has done enough to justify us in looking to him to fill up this gap in our philological literature.]

J. B. M.

[*Le Jour de la Préparation*, par Henri Lutteroth; Paris, 1855, pp. 87.

[THE difficulties connected with the paschal chronology are numerous and perplexing. They were felt as early as the time of Clemens Alexandrinus; and modern critics, anxious to establish harmony among the varying records of the sacred penmen, are from time to time reviving the discussion of those problems and suggesting fresh solutions. One of the main difficulties arises from the fact, that while the three synoptic Gospels seem to identify the last supper of our blessed Lord with the paschal supper of the Jews, St John states that on the following morning Jews had not yet eaten the passover: they refused to enter the Prætorium, lest, by contracting some defilement, they should be precluded from taking part in the solemnity that was to follow (*ἵνα μὴ μανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα*). To relieve this difficulty various means have been propounded. For example, it has been urged, that our Lord, who by His death was going to fulfil the paschal type, anticipated the usual hour for offering up the lamb, and celebrated the passover with His disciples during the night of the 13th of Nisan. Nor, these writers argue, was such conduct an infringement of the Jewish institute; for the whole of the *νυχθήμερον*, reaching from the sunset of our Thursday in Passion week to the sunset of Friday, might be not unfitly called 'the first day of unleavened bread' (*ἡ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα*).

The author of the present monograph, in handling the same questions, has endeavoured to strike out a totally different line: and though we cannot acquiesce in many of his suggestions, nor accept his main conclusion, the learning and ingenuity he has displayed in certain portions of his treatise are highly commendable. According to M. Lutteroth, the word 'preparation' (*ἡ παρασκευή*), will not bear the technical meaning of Friday. It does not, he maintains, refer to the day of the *week* preceding the Sabbath, but is used by the Evangelist to signify a day of the *month* on which the Jews began to make their preparations for the coming festival (Ex. xii. 3—6). This

day of the month was the 10th of Nisan; i.e. four days earlier than the paschal solemnity. M. Lutteroth finally arrives at the conclusion that the feast of the passover was in truth coincident with the day of our Lord's Resurrection. On this point, all his treatise may be said to hinge. He grants, indeed, that the peculiar meaning he would fain attach to *πασκευή*, when used by the Evangelists, is not traceable in other writers, Jewish or Christian, (p. 10). But even were this objection not insuperably strong, M. Lutteroth has still to encounter the language of the second Gospel (xv. 42): *ἐπεὶ ἦν πασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν προσάββατον*—a passage which is quite in St Mark's manner, if we take it for an instance of the way in which he often adds a clause in explanation of some technical or purely Jewish phraseology. The truth is, M. Lutteroth shews symptoms of embarrassment in dealing with this passage. He escapes from it only by contending (1) that the word 'sabbath' was occasionally used in the Old Testament as equivalent to 'festival,' and (2) that St Mark here used *προσάββατον* in a lax sense, to give his readers 'une idée approximative du jour spécial auquel s'étaient passés les événements dont il leur parle en cet endroit.' It is somewhat strange that so intelligent a writer as M. Lutteroth has overlooked one passage, the wording of which will, in the judgment of most persons, be fatal to his rendering of *σάββατον* and *προσάββατον*. It was remarked of Judith (Jud. viii. 6): *καὶ ἐνῆστετε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας χηρέσεως αὐτῆς χωρὶς προσαββάτων, καὶ σαββάτων, καὶ προνουμηγιῶν, καὶ νουμηγιῶν, καὶ ἑορτῶν, καὶ χαρμοσυγιῶν οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ.*

C. H.

Reformers before the Reformation, principally in Germany and the Netherlands, depicted by Dr C. ULLMANN, the translation by the Rev. ROBERT MENZIES. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. xxv. and 416. Vol. II. pp. xiv. and 639.

[THE enterprising publishers of these volumes, Messrs Clark of Edinburgh, (whose services we are glad to see acknowledged by Prof. Schaff in Schneider's *Deutsche Zeitschrift*) could not have made a more judicious addition to their *Foreign Theological Library*. For if the names of John of Goch, John of Wesel, and John Wessel, were nearly unknown in Germany before the publication of Ullmann's laborious work, in this country they still lie under the ban which so long condemned mediæval history and literature to utter neglect. We hope that this translation may turn the attention of English scholars to our own "Reformers before the Reformation," and that the example set by the Clarendon Press in its magnificent "Wycliffe's Bible" and by Dr Todd in his publication of various tracts of that great reformer may be followed elsewhere. It is not creditable to Cambridge that a work of such historical and philological importance as Reynold Pecock's *Repressor* has been suffered to lie for centuries unpublished in her library, while she has been reprinting books easily accessible and in many cases of no great value. We owe to Henry Wharton the publication of a portion of

Pecock's *Treatise on Faith* from the MS. in Trinity College, but Whar-ton's vast range of reading made him unable to give to any one work the minute attention which would now be expected. Both universities are interested in doing justice to this forgotten scholar; but his writings have a sufficiently general interest to warrant the hope that justice, if denied by them, will be done by some of our publishing societies.

To return to Ullmann.—We have compared the translation in several places with the original, and can bear witness to its general clearness and fidelity. A few blemishes, however, we have detected, e. g. the frequent use of the word *implementing* (*ergänzend*); "the fact of the Reformation having *pre-existed* its actual advent," &c.]

J. E. B. M.

Aristoteles Thierkunde. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zoologie, Physiologie, und alten Philosophie. Dargestellt von JÜRGEN BONA MEYER, Dr Philos. Berlin, 1855.

[AFTER having reigned for centuries over the whole thinking world by indisputable and undisputed right of intellect, Aristotle was dethroned by a violent rebellion; and for centuries it has been considered mere pedantry and blind reverence for the past to speak of him as an authority in science. But now again opinions are turning. It is becoming clear to the profoundest zoologists that the encyclopædic mind of Aristotle had really thought more systematically and observed more accurately, had conceived juster and broader views of zoological philosophy, and had recorded facts of zoological detail with greater nicety, than any other naturalist whose writings we possess. Considered with reference to the state of knowledge when he wrote, he surpasses all other writers, both in largeness and fulness; and even setting aside such consideration, we find him often surpassing his successors in accuracy, and recording striking facts, which, after having been laughed at as old women's tales, are rediscovered by modern investigators, who claim the discoveries as achievements. The paradoxical and astounding facts which have quite recently been discovered by the researches of Kölliker, Verany, and Vogt, respecting the *Hectocotylus*, was known to Aristotle, and has been accurately described by him.

Thus Aristotle assumes a quite novel aspect to our generation. We begin to study his scientific writings not, as heretofore, from mere curiosity to see what a great mind, working on scanty materials, could produce; but to that feeling of curiosity we add the conviction that we may light upon something, in the way of thought or observation, containing valuable and novel matter. The writer of this notice would especially point to Aristotle's distribution of beings into Animate and Inanimate (organic and inorganic) as not only superior to the modern distribution into three kingdoms, Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal, but as absolutely forced upon us by the results of modern investigation which utterly frustrate all attempts to demarcate the vegetable from

the animal; and further he would point to the principle which is implied in the treatise *De Anima*, namely that *Life is always and everywhere psychical, though not always intelligent*, as by far the most luminous psychological principle yet conceived.

The work of Dr Meyer, which has led us to these remarks, is the latest, and not the least valuable, contribution Germany has given to the better understanding of the great Stagyrte. It is elaborate, conscientious, and able; and possesses that indispensable accompaniment which German treatises almost invariably dispense with—an index.

Dr Meyer first examines Aristotle's classification; and afterwards his conception of the progressive chain of organisms, in the course of which he ably expounds what were Aristotle's anatomical and physiological notions; and finally compares Aristotle's plan with the various attempts of moderns. Amid the mass of details here accumulated it is easy to find our way, because Dr Meyer has systematically co-ordinated them; and if on more than one occasion his admiration for Aristotle carries him too far, and leads him to assume that Aristotle must be right, still the critical independence eminently necessary in such a task has not been sacrificed to the desire of exalting his hero. With all or almost all modern writers on his subject Dr Meyer seems well acquainted, and he cites them liberally. He does not simply compile, he *thinks* while compiling.

We have said enough to indicate the nature of Dr Meyer's work, which we cordially recommend to the study of every one interested in zoology or in Aristotle.]

G. H. L.

Correspondence.

"Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdin."

THE late Sir W. Hamilton of Edinburgh, in a letter which I received from him a few days before his lamented death, asked me to inquire whether I had not given the Germans more credit than they deserved, when I called the *Alexandreis*, from which this celebrated line is taken, "a German poem" (*Classical Scholarship*, p. 251), for that, according to his impression, the author was a Frenchman. I have accordingly looked into the question and find that my memory was misled, as is often the case, by an intermediate association. The last place, where I read a discussion on the authorship of this celebrated adage, was a German periodical, and I fancied that the *Alexandreis* had been claimed for the Germans. I see, however, that the author was Philip Gualtier de Châtillon, afterwards Bishop of Maguelone, who was born towards the end of the 12th century, and that the facts are correctly stated in Stevens' note on the words of Launcelot (in the *Merchant of Venice*, Act. III. Sc. 5): "Thus when I shun Scylla, your father, I fall into

Charybdis, your mother." In the course of conversation with literary men in this country, I have observed that the quotation from the *Alexandreis* is seldom, if ever, referred to its true parentage, and that it is generally described, in the words of Forcellini (sub. v. *Scylla*), as "vulgatum illud proverbium, cujus tamen auctor incertus est." It may be worth while, therefore, to place the facts of the case before the classical students of this university. The *Alexandreis* of Philippus Gualtherus de Castellione, or, as Barthius calls him, Galterus ab Insula, of which the editio princeps seems to have been printed in 1513, obtained, immediately after its first publication in the 13th century, such a reputation and popularity that Henricus Gandaviensis, who wrote *de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* in 1280, refers to it as follows: "hoc poema in scholis grammaticis tantæ dignitatis fuit, ut præ illo veterum poetarum lectio negligereetur." The line, which has for so many years survived the poem, from which it is taken, is to be found in Book v. line 301. And the context is as follows:

"Nactus equum Darius rorantia cæde suorum
 Retrogrado fugit arva gradu. Quo tendis inerti
 Rex periture fuga? Nescis heu! perditæ nescis
 Quem fugias, hostesque incurris dum fugis hostem:
Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdin.
 Bessus, Narzabanes, rerum pars magna tuarum,
 Quos inter proceres humili de plebe locasti,
 Non veriti temerare fidem, capitisque verendi
 Perdere canitiem, spreto moderamine juris,
 Proh dolor! in domini conjurant fata clientes."

These facts and others will be found in Malone's *Shakspeare*, Vol. v. p. 103 (Boswell's edition), and in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1846, p. 708. A reprint of this once celebrated poem, the text of which is in a very corrupt state, would be a good employment for some *Philobiblon* society.

J. W. DONALDSON.

Contents of Foreign Journals.

Gött. Gel. Anz. 1856. No. 20. On Pauli Antonii de Lagarde de *Geoponicon versione syriaca* commentatio, by Ewald. Nos. 21, 22. On F. Schweitzer's *Notizie peregrine di Numismatica e d' Archeologia*, by C. G. Schmidt.—Nos. 24—26. On Victor Luzarche's *Adam, drame anglo-normand du xiiie siècle*, by Adolf Ebert.—No. 27. On Uhlemann's *Israeliten und Hyksos in Ägypten*, by himself.—Nos. 28—30. On Har-nack's *Der Christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und althatholischen Zeitalter*, by G. Uhlhorn.—Nos. 32—34. On the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, by Ewald.—Nos. 34, 35. On Buss' *Der heilige Thomas, Erzbischof von Canterbury*, by Holzhausen.—No. 36. On Elster's *Commentar über den Prediger Salomo*, by himself.—Nos. 40—43. On Röhrich's *Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche des Elsasses*, by Holzhausen.—No. 43. On Wijne's *De fide et auctoritate Appiani in bellis Romanorum civilibus* (Gröningen, ap. K. de Waard. 1855).—No. 44. On Lajard's *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal chez les peuples civilisés de l'antiquité*, by Ewald.—No. 51. On Langlois' *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age*, by Ewald.—No. 55. On Bernhardt's *Grundriss der römischen Literatur*, Ed. 3.—No. 59. On Pauli's *Geschichte von England*, Vol. 4, by Waitz.—Nos. 60—62. On Houdart's *Histoire de la Médecine Grecque depuis Esculape jusqu'à Hippocrate*, by Conradi.—Nos. 62, 63. On Meyer's *Aristoteles Thierkunde*, by Lotze.—Nos. 64—66. On Brandis' *Ueber den historischen Gewinn aus der Entzifferung der Assyrischen Inschriften*, and Kruger's *Geschichte der Assyrier und Iranier*, by Ewald.—Nos. 66, 67. On Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum*, by Ewald.

Jahn's Jahrb. Vols. 73, 74. Part 3. On Curtius zur *Geschichte des Wegebau bei den Griechen*, by Vischer, with supplementary remarks by Curtius. On the Homeric Hymn (a review of Schneidewin on the Hymns to Apollo and Hermes), by J. C. Schmidt. On Cobet's *Variae Lectiones*, by Kayser. Interpolations in Ælian, by Hercher. On Horace and Cicero, by Trojel. The Battlefield of Cannæ, by Haggé. On Cæcilius Balbus, in reply to Dintzer, by Wölflin. On *Odyssey*, i. 90, by Franke. On Berger's *Lateinische Schulgrammatik*, by Vollbrecht. Part 4. On Fæsi's *Homer's Iliad*, by Ameis. On Nauck's *de Trag. Græc. Fragm. Observationes*, by Kayser. On the Conclusion of Plato's *Phædo*, by Susemihl. On the Legend of Admetus and Alcestis, by Stacke. On Reisacker's *Epicurus*, by W. Christ. On the Gallic walls (Cæsar B. G. vii. 23), by Lattman. Emendations of Eumenides v. 510 sqq. and v. 549 sqq., by Wieseler. On Gesenius' and Vosen's Hebrew grammar, by Gossrau.

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and Madame Chantel, a contribution to "catholic" mysticism, by Herzog. Nicholas Decius and his hymns, by Oberhey. Reply of Delitzsch to Weiss on the plan of St Matthew's Gospel.

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Zeitschr. f. Protest. u. Kirche. Erlangen, 1856. Ap.—May. Justin Martyr and St John's Gospel, by Luthardt.

List of New Books.—Foreign.

- Æschyli Choephore.* Cum interpretatione latina et annotatione edidit Dr Adalbert de Jongh. 8vo. pp. vii. and 192. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Kemink. 1 Thlr.
- Schwerdt, Franc. Ign., *Quæstiones Æschyleæ criticæ. Dissertatio philologica.* 8vo. pp. 53. Monasterii, Wundermann. $\frac{1}{2}$ Thlr.
- Prien, Carl, *Beiträge zur Kritik v. Æschylos, Sieben vor Theben v. 350—363.* 4to. pp. 42. Lübeck v. Rohden. $\frac{1}{2}$ Thlr.
- Arrian's Anabasis.* Für Schüler zum öffentlichen u. Privatgebrauch hrsg. v. Dr Glob. Hartmann. Vol. I. (Books I—III). 8vo. pp. viii. and 181. Jena, Mauke. 12 Ngr.
- Beer, Dr B., *das Buch der Jubilæen u. sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim. Ein Beitrag zur oriental. Sagen- u. Alterthumskunde.* 8vo. pp. iv. and 80. Leipzig, Gerhard. $\frac{1}{2}$ Thlr.
- Besser, Dr W. F., Bunsen und Dörner. *Eine Streitschrift wider falschberühmten Protestantismus.* 8vo. pp. iv. and 87. Schwerin, Stiller. 12 Ngr.
- Böhtlingk, Otto, u. Rud. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch hrsg. v. der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften.* 5—7 Lfg. Pt. 1. 4to. pp. xv. and 641—1142. St. Petersburg. (Leipzig, Voss). 1 Thlr. (Pt. 1. complete. 7 Thlr.)
- Brinckmeier, Dr Ed., *Glossarium diplomaticum.* Vol. I. Pt. 24. (Kennelin—Lapatica). Fol. Vol. I. pp. 1089—1113. Vol. II. pp. 20. Gotha, Perthes. 1 Thlr.
- Bruti, M., *epistolæ græcæ ex recensione Ant. Westermanni.* 4to. pp. 27. Leipzig, Dürr. 9 Ngr.
- Bucher, Dr Jordan, *des Apostels Johannes Lehre vom Logos, ihrem Wesen u. Ursprunge nach historisch-kritisch erörtert.* 8vo. pp. xii. and 223. Schaffhausen, Hurter. 1 Thlr.
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THE JOURNAL

OF

CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

I.

On the Sophistical Rhetoric.

POLUS of Agrigentum, the disciple and famulus of Gorgias, took no very important part in the history of Rhetoric. He followed in the track of his master, but had neither his original nor popularity; and though he wrote a *τέχνη*, which seems to have been chiefly occupied with precepts for the formation of an ornamental and telling style, he did nothing to enlarge the boundaries of his art. The technicalities with which he adorned himself are thus referred to by Plato in his ironical account of the pursuits of the early rhetoricians, *Phædr.* 267 B. "again, how shall we describe Polus' museum of speeches, his invented diplasiology (the reduplication or repetition of the word, or of different *πράξεις* of the same) and gnomonology¹ (sentent or maxim making) and iconology² (image or poetical making), and of the Licymnean terms of art which that goddess bestowed upon him towards his manufacture of 'fine things'."

τολ. γνωμολογία δὲ ὥς, δεινὸν ἢ
τὸ δι' εἰκόνας καὶ δι' ὑποδείγματός
·
h the reading and interpretation
usage are uncertain. The Zu-
rs retain *δς*, which I believe to
in this case we must under-
εὔρεν, or something equivalent
OL. III. December, 1856

from the preceding sentences. The question turns upon the interpretation of *λόγων*, which Schleiermacher and Stallbaum, who read *ὥς*, understand as the general term which is afterwards explained by *διπλασιολογία*, &c.; and they would accordingly translate *μουνσεῖα λόγων* "a museum or repository of rhetorical artifices." But this is an un-

We gather from this passage that Polus' contributions to the art of Rhetoric consisted, so far as there was any novelty in them, in the addition of a few more artifices to the already sufficiently artificial style of his master, and the designation of them by long names; that he further adopted certain affected technical names from Licymnius which were applied to some new subdivisions of the speech. The latter, and perhaps also the former, were contained or discussed in his *Τέχνη*, a work which Socrates is made to say that he had read, Gorg. 462 B, and from which the passage illustrative of his style is taken, lb. 448 C: *πολλὰ τέχνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμπειρῶν ἐμπείρως εὐρημέται· ἐμπειρία μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸν αἰῶνα ἡμῶν πορεύεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην, ἀπειρία δὲ κατὰ τύχην. ἐκάστων δὲ τούτων μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἄλλως, τῶν δὲ ἀρίστων οἱ ἄριστοι.* This seems to be a specimen of the *διπλασιολογία* mentioned in the *Phædrus*. The first clause of the above paragraph is cited by Syrianus (Schol. ad Hermog. ap. Spengel.) from the *Τέχνη* of Polus, and the second by Aristotle, *Met. A. 1*,—one of the few passages bearing on his subject which Spengel has overlooked. Dionysius and one of the Scholiasts on Hermogenes (ap. Sp.) agree in the statement that he, like Gorgias, was over-studious of ornament in his compositions which he overloaded with all sorts of rhetorical figures in order to give them a rhythmic symmetry (*παρισώσεις*).

We learn further from a playful observation in the *Gorgias* 461 D, that he had a tendency to indulge in the longwindedness, *μακρολογία*, which was characteristic of the Sophists in general;

natural rendering of *λόγοι*: and it is much more probable that the words refer to a collection of speeches for the use of Polus' school, similar to Gorgias' *laudes et vituperationes*, and Protagoras' *communes loci*, in which these new figures of speech were illustrated: and it seems likely enough, though Stallbaum condemns the conjecture with a "frustra," that Heindorf is right in supposing that *μουσεῖα λόγων* was the title of this work.

Again, the meaning of *διπλασιολογία* is a matter of conjecture. Various opinions on this point may be found in Stallbaum's note. I think the most reasonable is his own, which I have

adopted. He refers it to that kind of repetition which we shall find illustrated in a quotation from his own treatise, put into Polus' mouth, Gorg. 448 C. The *ὀνόματα Δικτύμεια* seem to be the affected technical names which Licymnius gave to the divisions of the speech, and probably others of which no record has reached us. They will be illustrated when we come to speak of Licymnius. Mr Wright, in his spirited and in the main accurate translation of the *Phædrus* renders *διπλασιολογία* "jingle making," which very well represents the original according to Stallbaum's view of its meaning.

and from an allusion in the same dialogue 463 E, confirmed by Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 23, p. 105, 27, that his significant name was a true index to the impetuosity and hot-headedness of his character; and we are therefore the less surprised at finding him (*Gorg.* 466 B, 468 E) undisguisedly maintaining the most immoral and unpopular doctrines. But as I have already (*Vol.* II. p. 139) made some remarks on this subject, I need not here further enlarge upon it.

All therefore that has been said of Gorgias applies with still greater force to his follower Polus, who, like indiscreet disciples in general, exaggerated all the defects of his master.

Another pupil of Gorgias was Meno, as we learn from Plato's dialogue of that name: but though he is mentioned by Hermogenes (*ap. Sp.*) together with Polus and Gorgias as one of the masters of the Sophistic *δευότης λόγου*, we do not know that he practised the art except as an amateur, and still less that he wrote or gave instruction in it.

Licymnius, whose name has been already mentioned in connection with Polus, is said also to have been a pupil of Gorgias. The Scholiast, on *Phædr.* 267 B, adds that he was Polus' teacher; but probably his only authority for the statement is an inference drawn from the text on which he comments. It is not absolutely certain, though most probable, that Licymnius the Rhetorician is identical with Licymnius the dithyrambic poet mentioned by *Arist.*, *Rhet.* III. 12, p. 135, 13. We have several other instances in which the study of Rhetoric was combined with the cultivation of some branch of poetry: and the extraordinary figurative names, presently to be quoted, which Licymnius gave to some rhetorical figures or divisions of the speech, in his treatise on the art, seem to indicate a poetical turn of mind. This view, as Spengel thinks, p. 90, receives confirmation from the mention of him by Dionysius, together with Agathon, as too profuse in the employment of the new rhetorical rhythmical artifices. *Dion. De adm.* VI. Dic. in *Dem.* c. 26. Compare on the fondness of Licymnius for these "theatrical figures," *Dion. Ep.* II. ad *Amm.* c. 2, de *Thuc. Jud.* c. 24.¹

Licymnius was the author of an art of rhetoric containing, amongst other matter, some further subdivisions of the speech, to

¹ Licymnius likewise imitated the 'dithyrambic' style, and all the other vices of composition of his master. *Dion. de Lysia Jud.* c. 3.

which he gave affected figurative names. His attempt is stigmatised by Aristotle as *κενὸν καὶ ληρώδες*, "empty and frivolous." *Rhet.* iii. 13. ult. Not, as Spengel says, p. 88, because he employed "poetical words and audacious metaphors" to distinguish them, but because they were not distinctive and served no purpose of genuine classification—*δεῖ δὲ εἰδὸς τι λέγοντα καὶ διαφορᾶν ὄνομα τίθεσθαι*—that is, it is of no use to give a name unless it marks a real distinction of kind, unless it corresponds to a genus and differentia. The names which he thus criticises are *ἐπούρωσις*, *ἀποπλάνησις*, and *ῥοί*. The first has given the Commentators a good deal of trouble, the reading and interpretation being equally uncertain. With respect to the former we have the choice between the received reading *ἐπούρωσις*, the Scholiast's *ἐπόρουσις*, and *ἐπέρωσις* or *ἐπέρουσις*. The last two may be at once rejected as *voces nihili*, the inventions of ignorant transcribers. *Ἐπόρουσις* has a meaning, and is so far more plausible; but "a rushing on" could hardly have been applied, even by the poetical Licymnius, to characterise a subdivision of a speech. We must therefore fall back upon *ἐπούρωσις*, a word which nowhere else occurs, and endeavour to make the best of it. Spengel, from the words of the Scholiast, *τὰς ἐπαναλήψεις ἔλεγεν ἐκείνος ἐπορούσεις* (or *ἐπαρούσεις*) conjectures that Aristotle wrote *ἐπούρωσιν ὀνομάζων (τὴν) ἐπανάληψιν, καὶ ἀποπλάνησιν ῥοίους*, that is, that Licymnius gave to the two known rhetorical terms *ἐπανάληψιν* and *ἀποπλάνησιν*, the new metaphorical appellations of *ἐπούρωσις* and *ῥοί*. The conjecture is not without plausibility; but I do not quite see how the meaning of *ἐπανάληψις*, 'repetition, resumption,' can be extracted from the figurative term *ἐπούρωσις*. Ernesti leaves us here altogether in the lurch, for he has not admitted the word in any form into his *Lexicon*: and Liddell and Scott—who by the way have treated Aristotle in general with undeserved neglect—do not afford us much aid. Their account of the matter is simply this, "*ἐπούρωσις* a dubious word in *Arist. Rhet.* iii. 13, 5, probably a *going straight on*, al. *ἐπέρωσις*"—a not very happy specimen of the Lexicographical art. The Latin translator renders it *irruptio*, following Majoragius; in which case, as Vater remarks, we must adopt the Scholiast's reading *ἐπόρουσις*. But what does *irruptio* mean? Being thus thrown upon our own resources, we venture to suggest as a *pis aller*, the translation "fair gale" or "wind astern," for Licymnius' division; to which the explanation of the Scholiast,

ἢ συνεκπορίζοντα καὶ βοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν, seems to lead us. *Ἐκπόρευσις* would signify literally 'a speeding on as by a fair gale,' and hence in general 'subsidiary arguments,' as the Scholiast explains it. This is sufficiently figurative for Licymnius, and it justifies Aristotle's criticism, as it certainly answers no purpose of classification. The next word is explained by the same Scholiast, ἢ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος, 'wanderings off, or digressions¹;' and the word ῥαῖς, 'branches or ramifications,' is a term of similar import.

Licymnius appears also to have treated in his *τέχνη* of the art of Composition: and one of his observations on the choice of words of no very profound interest is quoted by Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 2. p. 117. 3. The beauty of a name, he said, resides partly in the sound and partly in the sense; and its deformity in like manner.

We are further informed by the Scholiast on Plato's *Phædrus* 267 c, that he divided nouns or names (*ὀνόματα*) into *κύρια*, i.e. the proper, appropriate, literal terms of ordinary familiar language, opposed to figurative expressions, *μεταφοραὶ* (see *Arist. Rhet.* iii. 2. *Dion. de Thuc. Jud. c.* 22. *propria*, *Quint. i.* 5. 71); *κῑνῆτα*, compound words, apparently the same with Aristotle's *κῑτὰ ὀνόματα*; *ἀδελφά*, synonyms or quasi-synonyms; *ἐπίθετα* epithets (*apposita*, *Quintil. viii.* 6. 40), or, single words or descriptive periphrases which may stand in the place of nouns, *Arist. Rhet.* ii. 2; καὶ εἰς ἄλλα τινά, which are not specified.

These are all the known contributions of Licymnius to the art of Rhetoric.

Another author who combined the cultivation of poetry and rhetoric was Agathon. He not only imitated the graces and refinements of Gorgias in prose speeches², of which Plato has given us a specimen in his *Banquet*, but he also introduced them freely into his dramas. Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, says of him that he Gorgiazied in many passages of his iambics, *πολλαχού τῶν μυβείων Γοργιάζει*. Some examples of verses of this kind are to be found in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic. vi.* 4. *Rhet. ii.* 19, and 24³; comp.

¹ The word occurs in this sense *Plat. Polit.* 263 c. Ernesti interprets it differently of the art of calling off the attention of a judge from a point not favorable to the speaker's case. And the Schol. explains ῥαῖς, τὰ ἄκρα ἥτοι τὰ ροοῖμα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλόγους.

² Ἐμμεῖτο δὲ τὴν κομψότητα τῆς λέξεως Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὡς Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ Συμπόσιῳ. *Schol. ad Lucian. 'Ρηγ. Διδάσκ. c.* 11.

³ Τάχ' ἂν τις εἰκόσ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγει
βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα.

Poet. 18; and Athenæus, v. 185 A. 211 E. XIII. 584 A, has preserved some still more characteristic specimens¹.

An anecdote told by Ælian, Var. Hist. XIV. 13, illustrates still further the peculiar direction taken by Agathon's tragic genius. "He so far affected the use of these ornaments," says that extremely 'various' historian, "nay thought the very essence of his tragedies to consist in them, that, when a certain person in a critical humour desired to weed them out of his dramas, he exclaimed 'nay my friend you don't see that at that rate you are for effacing Agathon out of Agathon.'"

The word *ἀντονομαζέει* in Aristophanes' satirical description of his manner of composition, Thesmoph. 55, can hardly bear the meaning, which Küster assigns to it, of the antithetical balancing of word against word, though Ernesti, Lex. Techn. Gr. v. *ἀντονομασία*, supports this view. "Latius dictum videtur...quod Kusterus ad h. l. commode putat ad crebrum antithetorum usum referendum esse." But there seems to be no sufficient reason for departing here from the usual interpretation of the term in Rhetoric. It expresses literally "the substitution of one word for another," either single noun, or epithet, or descriptive periphrasis; and hence finally "a trope." Tydides, Pelides, are instances of *ἀντονομασία*, Quint. VIII. 6. 29; as also are impius for parricida, eversor Carthaginiis et Numantiæ for Scipio. The whole passage of Aristophanes is descriptive of the artificial graces and elaborate refinements of Agathon's tragic style, but seems to refer more immediately to the lyrical parts of his dramas.

Evenus of Paros was a third writer who pursued the study of poetry in common with this kindred one of the "Sicilian" rhetoric. The branch of poetry which he cultivated was elegy. It happened singularly enough, as Eratosthenes quoted by Har-

¹ Τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὡς ποιούμεθα,
τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πάρεργον ἐκπονούμεθα.
Εἰ μὲν φράσω τάληθές οὐχί σ' εὐφρανῶ
εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ' οὐχὶ τάληθές φράσω.
Γυνὴ τὸ σῶμα . . . δι' ἀργίαν
ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.
Γνώμη δὲ κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ ῥώμη χειρῶν.
This last fragment, preserved by Stobæus, appears to be an alteration of a verse of Sophocles, likewise in Stobæus,

LIV. 3, γνῶμαι πλέον κρατοῦσιν ἢ σθένος
χειρῶν; and the introduction of the jingle
—or to give it its technical name, *παρονομασία*—of γνῶμη and ῥώμη to be an improvement suggested by his familiarity with the writings of Gorgias and his school. Isocrates has the same rhyme, Paneg. p. 49, §. 45. *ἐτι δὲ ἀγῶνας ἰδὲν
μὴ μόνον τάχους καὶ ῥώμης ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων
καὶ γνῶμης.*

poetisation informs us, that there were two elegiac poets of this name, both of the island of Paros. Only the younger of the two, he adds, attained any celebrity. One of them is mentioned by Plato; but which of the two, Eratosthenes does not say, and Larpocraton apparently did not know. His poems are incidentally referred to by Plato, Phæd. 60 D, where Socrates, who had been translating in prison some of Æsop's fables into verse, represented as sending him a message that he had nothing to fear from any rivalry on his part; and at the same time, in consideration of his being a philosopher, an injunction to follow him out of the world as speedily as possible; a recommendation with which, as Simmias thinks, he will have no sort of inclination to comply. He turned his poetical skill to account by versifying some of his rhetorical precepts (or examples) for his pupils' benefit—with the same benevolent design as the author of the *proptia quæ maribus*, and *As in præsentî*—to aid their memory, *ἡ μέτρη λέγειν φασὶν μνήμης χάριν*, Phædr. 267 A. Evenus, like his more celebrated sophistical brethren, was a professor of public and private virtue, *ἀρετῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ πολιτικῆς*, Apol. Socr. 20; all which he imparted at the very moderate charge of five minæ. But besides the composition of elegiac poetry, and the education of consummate statesmen and model citizens at twenty pounds sterling per head, he also enriched his favourite science with the following valuable contributions. "He was the first to invent," says Plato, Phædr. l. c., "*ὑποδήλωσις* and *παρέπαινος*; and some even attribute to him the discovery of *παραψογος*; for he's a wonderful genius." These technical terms which Evenus had the merit of introducing into the science of rhetoric seem to have indicated certain artifices familiar enough in practice to all public speakers, but which he may have been the first to reduce to rule. *ὑποδήλωσις* "covert insinuation" is the general term, including under it the two branches *παρέπαινος* "by-praise," and *παραψογος* "by-censure," i. e. praise insinuated under the mask of censure, and the reverse: the latter, as we may gather from Plato, he illustrated in verse for the use of his school.

To this Parian school of Sophists reference is made in the introductory Epistle to the *Rhet. ad Alexandr.* p. 1421. 32. They are there stigmatised as mercenary, indolent, and uncultivated. The author of the Epistle, whoever it may have been

(certainly not Aristotle—and it does no great honour to the sagacity of Editors and Commentators that they should have mistaken for one instant such a string of platitudes for the work of that mighty intellect), informs us with much gravity and verisimilitude that Alexander had written to him a strict injunction to show the precious treatise which follows to no other mortal eye, though he was well aware with what jealousy of affection inventors regard their intellectual offspring: “whereas the Parian sophists, as they are called, have no love for theirs, because by reason of their illiterate indolence (*ῥαθυμίαν ἀμουσον*) they have not given birth to them themselves, but expose them to public sale for money.” I do not defend this position; nor do I see why the Parian sophists were obliged to write rhetorical treatises, provided they could find such as answered their purpose already written, nor what particular crime there was in parting with them, provided they could get a good price for this article; I merely quote the ingenious author’s words.

We will here quit for a moment the chronological order in order to mention another writer of this class, who interwove the flowers of Rhetoric in his poetical chaplet. This was Theodectes of Phaselis in Lycia, a pupil of Isocrates, who flourished during the reign of Philip of Macedon, about Olymp. 106. B.C. 356.¹ He is said, Athen. XIII. 566 E, to have been also a pupil of Aristotle, comp. Cic. Orat. §§ 172. 194; and Athenæus, who seems delighted to have found such a bit of scandal about that “most grave and reverend” (*τὸν σεμνότατον*) philosopher, hints at a still more intimate connexion between them: for which there was probably about as much foundation as for that alleged to have existed between Socrates and Alcibiades, with which indeed Athenæus compares it². Certain it is that Aristotle quotes both his declamations and tragedies very frequently: in the Rhetoric and Poetics³ they are referred to no less than ten times, and it is not

¹ Comp. Quintil. Inst. Orat. III. 1. 14.

² It was to his intimacy with Aristotle that he owed the characteristic compliment paid to his memory by Alexander the Great in his passage through Syria after the siege of Halicarnassus in 334 B.C. Alexander having seen his statue, which was set up in the forum of Phaselis, sallied out drunk (as

usual) after dinner and threw several of the crowns (that he had been wearing! *πολλοὺς τῶν στεφάνων*) upon it, “a not ungraceful return for the intimacy with the man which had been procured for him by Aristotle and Philosophy.” Plutarch, Alex. 17. Arrian. I. 24. 11.

³ And again Eth. Nicom. VII. 8. p. 122. 12.

is easy to distinguish the poetry from the prose¹. One inge-
bit of sophistry is quoted from his *Orestes*, *Rhet.* II. 24, p. 107.

a παραλογισμὸς ἐκ διαίρεσεως, that is, a fallacious conclusion
ad from arguments considered separately instead of taken
er. Orestes argues 1st that a woman ought to die who
er husband, and 2ndly that a son is bound to aid and avenge
her: and accordingly proceeds at once to act upon the
sion thus arrived at ἐκ διαίρεσεως, without taking time to
er the arguments *συντεθέντα*, whether viz. in the case where
man who has slain her husband is the mother of the son
is bound to avenge his father the conclusion holds good.
er piece of sophistical reasoning of a somewhat similar
cited by Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 23. p. 98. 21. sq., from Theo-
Alcmæon, and from Aristotle, transcribed at length by
sius, *Epist.* I. ad Amm. de Dem. et Arist. c. 12. It is argued
a person has been justly punished, therefore the executor
reance is justified in his act; which is not always true. A
r of fragments of his plays are to be found in Stobæus, all
ighly moral character, and, for the rest, not of surpassing
t; in none of his remains, amounting in Wagner's collec-
ily to twenty-four fragments, do any of the peculiarities
ted to his style appear. His treatise on Rhetoric is
d to by Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 9. ult., under the name of
ia². Quintilian, II. 15. 10, mentions an art of Rhetoric
; the name of Theodectes as extant in his time, but adds
was then generally believed to be the work of Aristotle.
as no doubt the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* which still passes
the name of Aristotle, and can hardly be the same as the
ectea here mentioned. It contained, he says, a definition
toric only differing in terms from the common sophistical

odectes thus supplies an illus-
f a statement of Aristotle, *Rhet.*
II. 4. 8 (comp. *Poet.* 6.) that the
iters of his own day had thrown
use of all words and expres-
ich deviated from the standard
r language, just as their prede-
ad quitted the tetrameter for
ic measure because it offered
est approach to ordinary con-
.
; name of Theodectes occurs in

the letter to Alexander above quoted
which is prefixed to the *Rhet. ad Alex.*
The author there says that he sends
Alexander two works "one of which is
my own, one of the treatises addressed
by me to Theodectes, the other that of
Corax." This is the only possible inter-
pretation of the words as they stand:
no amount of force can extract from
them that which Ernesti, *Præf. ad Lex.*
Techn. Gr. p. xiv., gives, viz. Theodec-
teorum Epitome.

one; "in quo est, finem esse rhetorices, ducere homines dicendo in id quod actor velit." The tendency which had begun to show itself in Euripides, and was still more marked in Agathon, attained its full development in the dramas of Theodectes; in which the interest of plot character and poetry became subordinate to that of polished style¹ and rhetorical skill. They were however so far agreeable to the taste of his age that, as the epitaph upon his tomb informs us², he obtained eight victories in thirteen contests, a feat in which he was rivalled by Sophocles alone amongst the great tragic poets.

In the department of grammar Theodectes made an advance upon his predecessors. In a brief historical sketch of the divisions of the 'parts of speech' given by Dionysius, de Comp. Verb. c. 2, (Comp. De adm. Vi Dic. in Demosth. c. 48,) he is represented as having been in conjunction with Aristotle the author of the division of them into nouns, verbs, and connecting particles, *ὀνόματα ῥήματα καὶ συνδέσμους*. The passage is I think of sufficient interest to justify the quotation of it at length. Quintilian at any rate was of that opinion, for he has transferred it nearly word for word to his own pages, Inst. Orat. i. 4. 18.

"Composition is, as the name itself indicates, a particular position in relation to one another of the parts of speech; which some also call the elements (*στοιχεῖα*) of speech. These were advanced to the number of three³ by Theodectes and Aristotle⁴ and the speculators of that time, who made the primary parts of

¹ Theodectes . . politus scriptor atque artifex. Cic. Orat. c. 51.

² αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ χθον' ἔων ἱεραῖς τρισι καὶ δέκ' ἀμύλλαις

'Οκτὼ ἀγῶνάντους ἀμφεθέμην στεφάνους. ap. Steph. Byz.

As Suidas tells us that he wrote fifty tragedies, it seems more reasonable to suppose that fifty is a round number for fifty-two and that he brought out his plays in tetralogies, than to assume with Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. c. 26, § 7, not., that he presented eleven tetralogies and two trilogies.

³ The earliest attempt at a classification of this kind went no further than the division of language into *ὀνόματα* and *ῥήματα*; and the first author to

whom even this elementary division can be ascribed with certainty is Plato, Crat. 425 A. 431 B. λόγος—ἡ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων ξύθεσις ἐστίν. See Gräfenhan, Gesch. der Philol. § 24. However the distinction between the two terms which prevailed in the ordinary language was that *ὄνομα* was used to express a single word, *ῥήμα* a phrase or sentence.

⁴ So says Dionysius—but in another place, Poet. c. 20. init., Aristotle makes the "parts of speech", τὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπου λέξεως μέρη, eight in number, including amongst them, letter, syllable, article, πτώσις (inflection or change of termination), and λόγος, besides the three mentioned in the text.

h to consist of nouns verbs and connecting words. Their vers, and especially the leaders of the Stoic sect, increased umber to four by separating the article from the connect-articles. Next their successors distinguished appellatives nouns and thereby made the primary parts five. Others disjoined the pronouns from the nouns and made this a element. Then the adverbs were divided from the verba, repositions from the connecting particles (or 'conjunctions'), he participles from the appellatives. Other divisions were introduced, which multiplied the primary elements of speech, would require a long description to enumerate." It is aps somewhat singular that Dionysius in another place ns to the original or Aristotelian division of the parts of h into nouns verbs and connectives. De Thuc. Jud. c. 22.

ἐκλογὴ τῶν στοιχειωδῶν μορίων, ὀνοματικῶν λέγων καὶ ῥηματικῶν καὶ ρικῶν¹.

We must now return to Plato's contemporaries, amongst n was Alcidas, a popular rhetorician of the school of ias, Athen. xiii. 592 c. Suid. in voc. Ἀλκιδάμας. He was at Elæa, one of the Æolian colonies on the coast of Asia r. The birth-place of Alcidas connects itself with the nation of an allusion in Plato, Phædr. 261 c. d, which has usually taken for granted by Platonic commentators: but hink they have been somewhat over hasty in adopting their pretation, I hope I may be allowed to urge what is to be n favour of a different one.

he two passages run as follows: Σωκ. ἀλλ' ἡ τὰς Νίστορος καὶ ρέως τέχνας μόνον περὶ λόγων ἀκήκοας, ἅς ἐν Ἰλίῳ σχολάζοντες συν-

heodectes is mentioned by Quin- xi. 2. 50, together with Themis-Mithridates, Crassus, and Cyrus nstance of extraordinary tenacity ory. He was one of those who a singular faculty of reproducing instant any number of verses he had heard once repeated. tocles' claim to a place in the ounded upon his having learnt to Persian fluently (optime) within a an accomplishment which would nowadays seem to call for any lar remark. The authority for

the statement seems to be the passage of Thucydides, i. 138, who merely says that "he learnt as much as he could of the language and the habits of the country." This was afterwards amplified "by the careless folly of that most worthless class of writers, the second and third rate historians of Greece and Rome" (Arnold not. ad loc.) into perfect mastery of the language. Cornel. Nepos goes so far as to say, "ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisso, quam hi poterant qui in Perside erant nati."

εγραψάτην, τῶν δὲ Παλαμήδους ἀνήκοος γέγονας; Φαίδ. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί' ἔγωγε τῶν Νέστορος (sc. ἀνήκοος γέγονα), εἰ μὴ Γοργίαν Νέστορά τινα κατασκευάζεις, ἢ τινα Θρασύμαχόν τε καὶ Θεόδωρον Ὀδυσσεά Σωκ. τὸν οὖν Ἑλεατικὸν Παλαμήδην λέγοντα οὐκ ἴσμεν τέχνη ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι τὰ αὐτὰ ὁμοία καὶ ἀνόμοια, καὶ ἐν καὶ πολλὰ, μένοντά τε αὐ καὶ φερόμενα; The author is here facetiously comparing the rhetoricians whose style of writing was most popular in his day, excluding therefore the rhetoricians of the Greek school from the list, to the heroes of the Iliad and Cyclic poems who were most renowned for their subtle and artistic eloquence. The longlived Gorgias is therefore christened Nestor, Theodorus or Thrasymachus Ulysses, and some one whose name is not given is designated as the Eleatic Palamedes. All the Platonic commentators from the Scholiast downwards with great show of reason suppose Zeno to be referred to under the name of Palamedes: Schleiermacher is quite certain upon the point, and concisely recommends sceptics "only to look at the commencement of the Parmenides": Heindorf is of opinion that the introduction of Zeno is in itself probable, and that the authority of the Scholiast is decisive, that the words of Quintilian III. 1. 10, (to be presently quoted) are a gloss, and that Diogenes Laertius IX. 25 wrote ὁ δ' αὐτὸς (Πλάτων) ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ [in the text it is ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ, but Heind. adopts Spalding's conjecture. In Cobet's revision of the text it stands ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ] καὶ Ἑλεατικὸν Παλαμήδην αὐτὸν (Ζήνωνα) καλεῖ: Stallbaum merely cites the Scholiast, and thinks the question is settled by the style of reasoning ascribed to Palamedes in Plato. I will at once admit this to be a reasonable interpretation, and not improbably the true one; and now proceed to state what I think may fairly be advanced on the other side. First, I do not at all agree with Heindorf in thinking that the allusion to Zeno "is in itself probable." On the contrary, Plato is here in no way concerned with philosophers, but dealing exclusively with rhetoricians. Secondly, if Alcidas is not referred to in this passage, his name is omitted altogether from Plato's catalogue. But considering the celebrity of the man, the fair handle which his various defects offered for animadversion, and that all the other rhetoricians of note contemporary with Plato are included in his criticism, the absence of all reference to him would be strange indeed. Thirdly, though the balance of authority—estimated by the number of references in ancient authors—may appear to

be in favour of the Scholiast's interpretation, it must be considered that on a point of this kind, where no positive evidence is attainable, authority cannot from the nature of the case have any great weight; a modern guess at Plato's meaning may as far as I can see, be entitled to as much consideration as the unsupported opinion of Diogenes Laertius or the Scholiast: such a question must be argued on its own merits, and can hardly be decided by authority. Fourthly, if authorities are to be adduced, Quintilian says expressly, *Inst. Orat.* III. 1. 10, *Et quem Palamedem Plato appellat, Alcidas Eleates*. True it is that Spalding conjectures that this may be a gloss introduced from the margin: but he gives no reason for the conjecture, and leaves us to suppose that it is due solely to his own opinion that the assertion made in it is untrue. Lastly it remains to be seen whether the mode of reasoning ascribed by Plato to the Eleatic Palamedes can with probability be attributed to Alcidas. I think it will appear from the following considerations that it may. Alcidas was a pupil of Gorgias who used the reasoning of Zeno and Melissus in establishing his strange theorem, 'nothing exists.' Diogenes Laertius, VIII. 56, mentions a work of Alcidas, *τὸ φυσικόν*, by name, on which Gerlach, *Hist. Stud.* p. 86, remarks, "that the brief citations from it will not allow us to decide whether its contents were philosophical." However not only the name of the book, but also what Diogenes tells us of its contents lead directly to the supposition that it was a philosophical treatise upon the comprehensive subject which at that time usually occupied the speculations of philosophers and passed under the name of 'physics'; that is to say, the origin, system and nature of the universe and all things therein. The brief extract quoted gives an account of the relation which subsisted between Parmenides, Zeno and Empedocles. I suppose then that the *τὸ φυσικόν* of Alcidas was a philosophical treatise written with the same object as that of his master Gorgias, and employing the same reasoning, viz. that of Zeno, to effect it: and I conclude that the style of argument ascribed by Plato to his 'Eleatic Palamedes,' viz. "to make his audience believe the same things to be equal and unequal, and one and many, and stationary and in motion," may readily be supposed to have been characteristic of Alcidas' philosophy. If we adopt this view, we should perhaps read *Ἑλαίτην* for *Ἑλεατικόν* in Plato: and that

we may have less scruple in so doing I will quote the words of Spalding, Not. Crit. ad Quint. l.c. "Græculorum frequentissimo errore, 'Ελεά scribentium pro 'Ελαία, qui-est ipse apud Suidam, in voce Ἀλκιδάμας, et Eudociam," p. 56.

In this long digression I trust that it has at any rate appeared that Alcidas was the author of a philosophical work, probably of a similarly sceptical character to that of his master; he likewise imitated, and even outdid him, in the poetical extravagances of his style. Aristotle, Rhet. III. 3, illustrates all the four kinds of ψυχρά from his writings, the abuse of double or compound words, of foreign or strange words (γλῶτται), of epithets (including all descriptive and ornamental additions to an ὄνομα κύριον, the naked statement of the fact), and of metaphors. The examples are so numerous that I cannot quote them all, and some of them have become so familiar to us by constant repetition—such as the phrase 'a fair mirror of human life' applied to the Odyssey—that they are no longer offensive to our taste, and are indeed now part of our common stock of language. The first instance given shows that Alcidas imitated Gorgias as much in the employment of the figures which gave a symmetrical structure to his periods, as in the poetical language by which he was distinguished. It is, μένους μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν πληρουμένην, πυρίχρων δὲ τὴν ὄψιν γενομένην, which is a perfect specimen of ἀντίθεσις, παρίστωσις or ἰσοκάλων and ὁμοιοτέλετον, all combined in one short sentence, and exactly in the style of the fragment of Gorgias' funeral oration above quoted. The διπλοῦν ὄνομα which Aristotle objects to is πυρίχρων 'fire-coloured'; expressing the flush of the face which betrays the rage of the soul. He also quotes κνωέχρων applied to the surface of the sea as a viciously poetical compound word; and τελέσφορον 'end-fulfilling' 'thought-executing' (King Lear) attached to προθυμίαν and πειθώ. The examples of γλῶτται are the phrases, only fit for poetry, ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει, τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀτασθαλίαν and ἀκράτῃ τῆς διανοίας ὀργῇ τεθηγμένον: the first a Pindaric (and Homeric) word, the second Homeric, and the third sounding very like a fragment of a tragedy. "His epithets," says Aristotle, "he employs not for the sauce but for the solid food"—the pièce de résistance—of his intellectual banquet: where it may be remarked that Aristotle himself is guilty of a παρονομασία, whether intentionally or not I will not venture to decide: οὐ γὰρ ἡδύσματι χρῆται ἀλλ' ὡς ἐδέσματι τοῖς ἐπιθέ-

ς. Instead of δρόμῳ, for example, he says, δρομαίῃ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰῇ, and σκυθρωπὸν τὴν φροντίδα τῆς ψυχῆς, and instead of ἐλάδοις, τοῖς ἐὺλης ἐλάδοις, and so on. Lastly of the misuse of metaphorical examples are given, the description of philosophy as πετρίχισμα τῶν νόμων, of the Odyssey as καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοικον, and οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει προσφέρων, the meaning of which no commentator has succeeded in eliciting. Dionysius, de sœco Jud. c. 19, characterises his style as "somewhat coarse and vulgar," παχύτερον καὶ κοινότερον τὴν λέξιν.

These faults of style were exhibited in various declamations, of which only the names survive in a few instances. Two speeches which do *not* contain them pass current under his name; these are generally held to be the work of some later sophist, though Spengel, Art. Script. p. 173 sq., vigorously defends the genuineness of one of them, περὶ σοφιστῶν, which he supposes to be directed against Isocrates. Aristotle twice mentions his λόγος Μεσσηνιακός, Rhet. I. 13, p. 47. 3 (where the Scholiast, ap. Spengel, p. 175, supplies the quotation, which is wanting in the text,) and II. 23 init. It was, as the Scholiast explains, a declamation, ἐπιδικητικὸς λόγος, "in defence of the revolt of the Messenians from the Lacedæmonians, and their refusal to submit to slavery." The only other extract from his works in Aristotle's Rhetoric is an illustration of the argument ἐξ ἐπαγωγῆς, i.e. induction *per enumerationem simplicem*. The thesis to be proved is a very simple one, "that men of genius are held in universal esteem;" "at any rate the Parians have always paid honour to Archilochus, though a foul-mouthed railer; and the Chians to Homer, though he was not a fellow-citizen; and the Mytilenæans to Sappho, though she was a woman; and the Lacedæmonians, though anything but lovers of literature, made Chilon a member of their Council of Elders; and the Italian Greeks paid honour to Pythagoras; and the Lampsacenes bestowed the rites of sepulture upon a mere stranger, Anaxagoras, and honour him even to this day; and the Athenians flourished under the laws of Solon, and the Lacedæmonians under those of Lycurgus, and at Thebes the leading men became philosophers, and all that time the city flourished."

Another declamation of his in praise of the courtesan Nais, Athen. XIII. 592 c. seems to Gerlach, Hist. Stud. I. c., to mark the degeneracy of the Sophists. If so they began to degenerate very

soon; for Alcidas, though somewhat younger, was probably contemporary with the earliest of them. A speech in praise of death "which consists of the enumeration of human ills," is also mentioned by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 48, § 116. Gerlach's phrase, von Cicero wegen seines stiles viel bewundert, and Dr L. Schmitz's (in Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.*) "of which Cicero seems to speak with great praise" are hardly justified by the author's words. He merely says, that the speech was wanting in those nice reasons which are accumulated by philosophers, but was *not* wanting in copiousness of language.

We learn from Plutarch, *vit. Dem.* (in Spengel and Gerlach ll. cc.) and also from Dion. Hal. *ad Amm. Ep.* i. c. 2, that Alcidas emulated his rhetorical contemporaries and predecessors, in writing a *τέχνη*. This treatise must have contained his division of the *λόγος*, or classification of modes of expression, into *φάσις*, *ἀπόφασις*, *ἐρώτησις*, *προσαγόρευσις*, see ante, No. 7, p. 50, n. 2. It likewise contained his definition of rhetoric, *δύναμις τοῦ ὄντος πιθασοῦ* (*Rhet. anon. ap. Spengel*, p. 213); the form which the ordinary sophistical definition of the object of the art took with Alcidas and his school, *τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὄρον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιδάμαντα ἔλεγον*.

We now come to a much more important personage in the history of Rhetoric and prose composition. This is Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, who, if we may believe Dionysius, and Theophrastus whom he quotes, really did good service in the improvement of the prose style of his countrymen.

At the commencement of his treatise *De adm. Vi Dic.* in Demosth., Dionysius distinguishes three kinds of style, taking as the representatives of them severally, Thucydides of the first, Lysias of the second, and Thrasymachus and Isocrates of the third or middle style, which the latter is alleged to have carried nearly to perfection. The first, which is described as *ἐξηλλαγμένη καὶ περιττή καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις κόσμοις ἅπασι συμπληρωμένη λέξις*, "a style novel¹, affected, and elaborately artificial, crowded with all kinds of ornamental additions," is illustrated by a long quotation from the 82nd chapter of the third book of Thucydides, a passage which he cites elsewhere (*de Thuc. Jud.* c. 29) applying to it the well-merited terms *σκολιά καὶ δυσπαρακολού-*

¹ On *ἐξηλλαγμένη*, "deviating from common usage," see *Ern. Lex. Tech.* Gr. and Arist. *Poet.* c. 20, p. 176. 5.

The latter gives as an example *δεξιτερόν κατὰ μαζόν* for *δεξιόν*.

αὶ τὰς τῶν σχηματισμῶν πλοκάς σολοικαφαεῖς ἔχοντα. "Contorted hardly intelligible and full of figures so complicated as to the appearance of solecism." "Of this style," he says, standard and the measure is Thucydides; a writer whom of his successors has surpassed, nor (as he sarcastically imitated."

the second kind of style is the simple and plain λιτὴ καὶ ἀφε-
representing a nearer approach to the ordinary language of
ersation. "This method of composition boasted many emi-
masters, historians, philosophers, and orators. For the com-
of genealogies and of 'topical' histories', and the physical
alled Ionian) philosophers, and all the writers of ethical dia-
s, comprising the entire school of Socrates, with the excep-
of Plato, and the composers of political and forensic speeches,
igned almost without exception to this class of writers. This
was carried to the height of the perfection of which it was
ble by Lysias." It is called by Aristotle, Rhet. III. 9, init.
ἡ λέξις, "a structure," he says, "which was formerly em-
d by all writers, and is still by the majority now-a-days."
word εἰρομένη (τῷ συνδεσμῷ μία,) 'connected, strung together,'
the links of a chain, or the joints of a reed, without internal
ization, is well rendered by Mure, Hist. Gr. Lit. IV. p. 123,
jointed style." It is otherwise called (Demetr. de Eloc. 12)
ἰότης², "disjointed or loose," which expresses the same charac-
y a figure still in use; and by the same author διακελυμένη and
μμένη. (Ern. Lex. Techn. Gr. s. v. διατερεῖν.) Herodotus is
ted by Aristotle as the representative of this manner of
ng.

Under these two names are desig-
all the early historical, mythol-
l, and geographical writers who
cluded under the general term
ῥάφοι. Acusilaus of Argos and
æus of Miletus were both authors
thological works, to which they
he name of γενεαλογίαι. See Mure,
of Gk. Lit. Vol. IV. pp. 133, 158.
icus' Atlantis was also a work of
character. Topical histories, are
s confine themselves to particular
ries, instead of embracing in one
ive the history of the known world.
were the Lydiaca of Xanthus of

Lydia, the Annals of Lampsacus by
Charon of that city, and various works
of Hellanicus of Lesbos. Mure, Op. cit.
pp. 165, 172, 228 sq.

² It is to be observed that Aristotle
in the same chapter, p. 127, 7, applies
the word in a different sense to a struc-
ture in which the clauses are distin-
guished, but not opposed—τῆς δὲ ἐν
κώλοις λέξεως ἡ μὲν διηρημένη ἐστὶν ἡ
δὲ ἀσυνεικμένη—and the example he gives
of it is the opening of Isocrates' pane-
gyric speech; πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν
τὰς πατηγύρεις συναγόντων καὶ τοὺς γυμνι-
κοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάντων.

To this is opposed the third style, *κατεστραμμένη*, (Arist. l. c.) *ἀντικειμένη, στρογγύλη, ἡ ἐν περιόδοις λέξις*, 'the condensed,' 'antithetical,' 'rounded,' 'periodic' structure, which is compared by Aristotle to the "antistrophes of the old poets" (such as Pindar), as the *εἰρομένη λέξις* is likened to the rambling unconnected flights of the dithyrambic preludes.

This style, occupying a middle place between the two former, equally removed from the homely and unstudied simplicity of Lysias, and the obscurity, affected graces and poetical flights of the higher attempts of Thucydides at fine writing—for of his ordinary narrative style, and of many of his simpler speeches, Dionysius, in his special treatise on this author, expresses the greatest admiration (de Thuc. Jud. c. 55, and elsewhere)—is called for this reason, *ἡ μίση λέξις*, and is said to be "mixed and compounded" of the other two.

The origination of this middle style of writing is attributed by the same author in another place, but with considerable hesitation, to Lysias, de Lysia Jud. c. 6, p. 464, Ed. Reiske. The reason there assigned is derived from chronological considerations; "and even if this be not granted," he adds, "because [read *τῷ* for *τό* with Stephens] he was at any rate certainly more versed in real contests (i. e. judicial and political) than the other. However, I have no certain conviction as to which of the two was the earlier author of this excellent species of composition; but that Lysias more excelled in it, this I can confidently affirm." In the former passage (Demosth. c. 3) he speaks still more uncertainly "whether it was Thrasymachus the Chalcedonian, as Theophrastus thinks, who first harmonized this style and reduced it to its present order, or any one else, I cannot say." The authority of Theophrastus, who lived two centuries nearer to the authors of whom he speaks, the uncertainty of Dionysius, and the weightier chronological reasons urged against him by Spengel, p. 95, will justify us in pronouncing that Thrasymachus, and not Lysias, is entitled to the credit of having been the first to write in the "middle style," and of having set an example in composition to Isocrates.

This Sophist then was the first who adopted a regular periodic structure of sentences "which concentrates the ideas, and expresses them roundly¹." His manner of composition found fa-

¹ Dionysius, de Lys. Jud. c. 6. *ἡ ἐκφέρουσα*. "What is meant by the *συσπρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως στρογγύλων* appears clearly from the

ur in the eyes of Dionysius, who describes it (Demoth. c. 3) as judicious mixture of what is valuable in the plain and ornamental styles: and again commends him (de Isæo Jud. c. 20) as pure and refined, and skilful in inventing and expressing anything that pleases, tersely and excellently. Most unfortunately the exact form from Thrasy-machus¹ by which he illustrates this character is so corrupt, that we are scarcely able to form a judgment for ourselves of his merits; and I will therefore content myself with noting Spengel's opinion, p. 95, that the encomium is justified by the excellence, in point of sentiment and diction, of the fragments, corrupt and mutilated as they are, which are to be found in Dionysius².

This account of his merits as a composer is partially confirmed by Cicero in various passages: he notices especially the harmonious structure of his periods, which he seems to have cultivated even to a vicious excess; see *Orat.* 13 and 52. In the same treatise, c. 12, he is classed with Gorgias as one of the earliest introducers of those rhythmical figures, antithesis, &c. which were one of the chief characteristics of the Sicilian style of rhetoric: "*aperte ac palam elaboratur ut verba verbis quasi lementia et paria respondeant, ut crebro conferantur pugnancia comparenturque contraria, et ut pariter extrema terminentur undemque referant in cadendo sonum—hæc tractasse Thrasy-machum Chalcedonium primum et Leontinum ferunt Gorgiam.*" We may perhaps infer from the silence of Dionysius upon this point, that Thrasy-machus was sparing in the employment of these ornaments; for from the nature of the epithets which the critic habitually applies to them—*puerile*, *affected*, *theatrical*, and the like—it is highly improbable that, if they had occupied a prominent place in the writings of Thrasy-machus, he would have failed to notice it.

The attention which Thrasy-machus bestowed upon the harmony of his numbers is further illustrated by a notice of Aristotle,

an example which Hermogenes has given of Demosthenes: *ὡς περ γὰρ εἴ τις λέγων ἐάλω σὺ τὰδε οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψας, ἴτως ἂν σὺ νῦν ἄλλως ἄλλος οὐ γράψει.* Such a sentence is like a circle which necessarily returns to itself." Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* xxxvi. 5. Similarly Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 9, defines a period,

λέξις ἔχουσα ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτήν, καὶ μέγεθος ἐσθύνοντον.

¹ Demosth. c. 3.

² A story, but apparently not told in Thrasy-machus' own language, is quoted by Athenæus, x. p. 416 A, from one of his *προοίμια*.

in the chapter, Rhet. III. 8, which treats of the rhythm of prose composition, and the metrical feet adapted to it. He tells us that Rhetoricians, from Thrasy-machus downwards¹, made use of the 'pæon,' without understanding the nature of it. To remedy this ignorance, in which his contemporaries must otherwise have burst, he explains that the pæon is a foot which has the ratio of 3 : 2, i. e. three short syllables to one long one, which is equal to two short; the iambus and trochee having the ratio of 2 : 1; and the 'heroic' metre (dactyl and spondee) the ratio of 1 : 1, one long syllable to two short in the dactyl, and long to long in the spondee: but of these the pæonic is the only measure which is appropriate to prose; and that because the cadence does not strike obtrusively upon the ear; whereas the others are metrical, and have a tendency, from their marked rhythm, to distract the attention of the audience from the subject under discussion, and to keep them continually on the look out for the recurrence of the corresponding cadence, *καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησις, προσέχειν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ὅτε πάλιν ᾗξει*. Further, he informs us that there are two kinds of pæons, those viz. which we now call the first and the last, —○○○ and ○○○—. Of these the former ought to be employed at the beginning of the speech: the latter at the close. But Thrasy-machus and the early rhetoricians did not make this distinction, but began and ended with the first². According to Aristotle therefore in this respect, both the theory and practice of Thrasy-machus were faulty³.

From the passage of Aristotle, de Soph. El. 183 B. 28 sq., already quoted, we may infer that in that author's opinion, and perhaps also in that of the public generally, Tisias, Thrasy-machus, and Theodorus, were the three authors who had made the most important contributions towards the advancement of the study of Rhetoric; whether by their theoretical writings or practical illustrations of their principles is not stated. The inference is founded merely upon the selection of their names out of the mass of writers upon the art, for nothing is said of the *value* of their contributions to it. Aristotle is comparing the considerable

¹ Quintilian, IX. 4. 87, says he 'invented' it.

² See Vater's note on Rhet. III. 8. 5. p. 125. 12.

³ The only remaining notice of Thra-

symachus in Aristotle's Rhetoric occurs c. II. p. 134. 6, where a remark of his is quoted as an illustration of the legitimate employment of a metaphor.

development which the art of Rhetoric had received in his own time by the successive labours of Tisias, Thrasymachus, Theodorus, and many others who had contributed portions, with the total absence of the very elements of the science of logic, of which, nevertheless, rhetoric is merely a branch—a want which the author had just been supplying by his books of Analytics and Topics.

Dionysius affirms that Thrasymachus confined himself in the sophistical manner to technical treatises, and the composition of declamations for the use of his school; he wrote neither forensic nor political speeches¹. This must not be understood literally; for not only is the fragment, quoted by Dionysius himself, taken from a public harangue addressed to the Athenian assembly, but in this same chapter in which the statement occurs, Thrasymachus is mentioned as one of those “who exercised their style in the rhetoric of real debates,” meaning, most likely, that he wrote speeches for the use of parties in suits, and criminals under trial. This contradiction is noticed by Gerlach, *Hist. Stud.* p. 84, not., who also refers to another ‘deliberative’ speech of his written for the Larisseans, from which Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. p. 624, quotes the words Ἀρχελάφ δουλεύσομεν Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρῳ; comparing it with a line of Euripides’ *Telephus*, Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους δουλεύσομεν; see Valck. *Diatr. in Fragm. Eur.* c. xx. p. 211. The technical works which we find referred to by ancient authors are, a τέχνη ῥητορικὴ in Suidas, comp. Schol. Arist. Av. 881, (possibly the same with the ἔλαιο); a treatise named ὑπερβάλλοντες, mentioned by Plutarch, *Conv.* i. p. 616, with Aristotle’s τόποι (as far as we can judge from Plutarch’s context, it may probably have consisted of specimens of arguments on opposite sides of various questions, or rules for conducting arguments, with appropriate illustrations); ἀφορμαὶ ῥητορικαί, a “rhetorical magazine,” and παίγνια, lusus, “diversions” (both, it may be supposed, collections of declamations and exercises illustrating the manner of treating particular topics²) also in Suidas, Gerlach, l. c.; and

¹ Dionys. de Isæo Jud. c. 20. Πᾶς δ’ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τεχνολογικοῖς καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῖς δικανικοῖς δὲ ἡ συμβουλευτικοῖς οὐκ ἀπολείπει λόγους. Cic. de Orat. III. 16. § 59. qui minus ipsi in republica versarentur, sed hujus tamen ejusdem

sapientiæ doctores essent, ut Gorgias Thrasymachus Isocrates.

² Quintilian, III. i. 12. Horum primi communes locos tractasse dicuntur, Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, et Thrasymachus.

lastly the *Ἰλαιοι*, cited by Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 1, p. 113. 24, which Cicero translates *miserationes*. The main subject of this latter work, as may be gathered from the title, and from Plato's description, *Phædr.* 267 c, was the various arts by which the judges in a cause might be moved to compassion, and their minds biased in favour of the party who makes the appeal, or against his adversary; in short, it treated of the art of exciting in an audience indignation and pity, favour and resentment, pleasure and pain, subjects which do not belong to the art of rhetoric properly so called, but have nevertheless great influence διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ *μοχθηρίαν*; and it is by no means unlikely that Aristotle had this particular treatise in his mind when he condemns the introduction of such topics as *ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος*, *Rhet.* i. 1, p. 1. 16, rhetoric being, when properly treated, an appeal to the reason, and not to the passions. However, the work was not confined to this branch of the art, but contained also a few hints upon action, or the delivery of a speech, *ὑπόκρισις*. *Arist.* l. c. If the *Ἰλαιοι* was Thrasymachus' *τέχνη*, as Spengel seems to think, he is probably right in supposing that the rule about the use of the pæon, above quoted, was introduced in it, and in that case it must also have treated of the rules of composition in general. Plato's somewhat satirical¹ description of its contents—for though he does not name it, there can be no doubt that he is referring to this work—I cannot do better than give in the words of his translator Mr Wright. "But in the art of dragging in piteous whinings on poverty and age, there never was, I believe, such a master as the hero of Chalcedon. He was a terrible fellow too for rousing the passions of a crowd, and lulling them again when roused by the magic of his song, as he used to say; and pre-eminent in the power of raising and rebutting a calumnious charge on any ground whatsoever." We might gather from the frequency with which Thrasymachus is mentioned in the *Phædrus*, and from the manner in which he is put forward as the representative of the professional rhetoricians of the day, what we have already learnt from other sources, that he was one of the most eminent and esteemed persons of his class.

¹ I do not mean unfaithful; if the contents were such as he describes—and we have no reason to doubt it—from his

point of view at least he had a right to speak satirically of them.

It appears however from the same authority that he differed from them neither in the technical handling of his subject, nor in his practical method of instruction. In his humorous sketch of the early rhetoricians in the *Phædrus* Plato shews that they were altogether deficient in sound logical analysis and knowledge of human nature, or the study of the different characters of men, without which no scientific treatment of the art of rhetoric, even in their own sense as the art of persuasion, is possible. Their attention was exclusively directed to externals; the technical divisions of the speech, the illustration of the use of particular *τόποι* or methods of argument, the art of gratifying the ears of an audience by the rhythmical structure and harmonious modulations of a period, the art of exciting various passions in the judges, and thus, to borrow Aristotle's image, warping and distorting the rule by which the case is to be tried, the art of adapting the action of the body to the sentiments delivered, and such like empirical artifices; some of them as Plato himself allows necessary preliminaries to an art of rhetoric, but no more constituting that art than a knowledge of the effect of certain drugs and applications constitutes a science of medicine, without a corresponding knowledge of the nature of the objects to which they are to be applied, of the times at which they ought to be administered, and the extent to which they may be carried; or the knowledge "how to make an immensely long speech on a trifling subject, or a short speech on a very important subject, or the power of composing at pleasure pathetic, or terrible, or menacing speeches, and so forth," constitutes the art of tragedy. In short these men cultivated the art of persuading, by any means, regular and irregular, legitimate and the reverse, but neglected that of convincing; they were eminently successful in imparting empirical skill and practical dexterity to their pupils, but conveyed no real scientific knowledge, and wofully impaired their regard for truth and probity. It is upon this that the ridicule in the *Phædrus* is based; and Plato's charges are so fully confirmed by Aristotle in his preliminary notices in the introduction to his *Rhetoric* and in other places, to which I have already drawn attention, that we have no right whatever to suppose that he was led to indulge in these disparaging comments merely by an innate love of mockery or a feeling of hostility to the Sophists arising from the difference between them and himself in habit of mind

and professional occupations. Technical writers upon rhetoric in later times naturally enough spoke highly of the services rendered by the Sophists to the advancement of their art; Plato, taking a wider view and a higher standard, who was moreover an eye-witness of the evil which such a system of *education* wrought upon the character of his contemporaries, not unnaturally nor unrighteously, as I think, used every available means to check its progress. I believe it is admitted that satire, as it is a most effective so is a perfectly lawful weapon to wield in a just cause; and if it may not be employed against unscientific unphilosophical unscrupulous pretenders, who were usurping functions for which they possessed no proper qualifications, substituting trickery for logic, empiricism for philosophy, and trifling for serious study; supplying their pupils, that is, a large portion of the young men of talent and distinction of the day, with a fearful instrument of mischief, whilst they undermined all the principles which might have enabled them to use it aright—and such was the light in which Plato regarded these men—if satire may not be directed against men such as these, then may Plato justly be condemned, and with him all those who by working upon the dread of ridicule, so powerful a motive when all other motives fail, have ever laughed or frightened mankind, not perhaps into virtue, but at least into decency. And so let us pass on to examine what Plato says about Thrasymachus' opinions in the introduction to his Republic.

He is there represented as thrusting himself with insolent and overbearing violence into a discussion which Socrates is carrying on with Polemarchus upon the nature of justice. This he undertakes to settle by a definition, and after a good deal of somewhat fierce banter and derisive irony, he at length with feigned reluctance propounds his theory that justice is 'the interest of the stronger;' that is, as he afterwards explains, that justice consists in the obedience of the weaker, the governed, to laws made by the stronger, the governors, for their own advantage. This advantage consists in power, riches, and pleasure; and a ruler who is worthy of the name regards his subjects precisely as a shepherd does his flock, he fattens and takes care of them solely with a view to his own benefit and by no means to theirs. Consequently a man's highest interest is the completest injustice; and the happiest of human beings is the tyrant,

uses his authority in the unscrupulous appropriation, but only so far as is consistent with his own safety, the property of those who are silly enough to act 'justly' obey him; committing by wholesale crimes which bring ignominy and the deepest disgrace when they are visited upon an ordinary offender. The disgrace however which is attached to crime and the reproaches which men heap upon him are due to their dread of suffering, not of committing injustice, "and thus it is," he concludes, "that injustice, when it reaches its complete development, is a stronger, a nobler, and a more lordly thing than justice, and, as I said at first, justice is in the interest of the stronger, and injustice the advantage and interest of oneself¹." Rep. 336 B sq., 343 A—344 C. Such is Thrasymachus' doctrine of justice. Nothing is said of rhetoric in the discussion does not turn upon any question immediately connected with it; but there can be little doubt as to the effect of the instructions and practice to which such views must be subjected. I have already noticed (Vol. II. p. 140) the similarity of the opinions professed by Polus in the Gorgias with those attributed to Thrasymachus². There is also a considerable

The doctrine that justice is τὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ συμφέρον is stated without any of Thrasymachus' name as held by τινές, Legg.

† B, C, D.

The theory of Callicles in the Gorgias is pronounced by Mr Grote, Hist. Greece, VIII. 537, to be "essentially different" from that of Thrasymachus in the Republic. According to Callicles justice is the *natural right* of the stronger, requires that the stronger should maintain his supremacy over the weaker; that ordinary conventional notions of justice are current in society (τὸ δίκαιον νόμον) are φέρεται, as the Sophists expressed them, being invented and maintained by the weaker for the purpose of controlling the stronger, and preventing him from exercising his natural right to be lord and master. This *as a* is perhaps not *identical* with the

It has however some points in common, as will be seen by comparing even in the meagre summary that

I have given, particularly the view taken of conventional justice in society: and the results of the two, as well as the practice founded upon them, would be very much the same, viz. that it is every man's business to gain as much power as he can, the means being a matter of indifference, for the purpose of self-gratification and self-indulgence. Nay if we examine them a little more closely I think it will appear that they might be stated in nearly the same terms. If justice requires, as Thrasymachus says, that the weaker obey the stronger, it must be just also for the stronger to exact that obedience; and this brings us to Callicles' position, that justice is the right of the stronger. There is no doubt the distinction that in Thrasymachus' theory the stronger who has a right to our obedience is the constituted authority of the state, whilst in Callicles' the right resides in *natural* superiority: but this seems to be merely a different way

resemblance between their characters, the same insolence and intemperate violence being conspicuous in them both; the only difference being that Thrasymachus is the more perfect bully of the two. That this *was* in reality a marked feature of their character we have contemporary evidence, quoted by Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 23, p. 105. 26. Herodicus the physician is reported to have replied to some intemperate sally of Polus and Thrasymachus, "Ah! you are always like your name;" the names of both being significant, and expressive of hot-headedness and ungovernable temper.

I must now return for a moment to Mr Grote's famous chapter in order to consider his arguments in defence of this Sophist. It is there urged on his behalf that "the theory itself, though incorrect and defective, is not so detestable" as has been represented; that "it is the style and manner in which it is put forward" that makes it so offensive; that this offensiveness in the manner of stating it—viz. that it makes the just man appear weak and silly, and presents "injustice in all the prestige of triumph and dignity,"—as well as "the unnecessarily offensive accessories" with which it is brought out, that is, the brutality of demeanour attributed by Plato to the person who maintains it, are what chiefly prejudices us against the doctrine itself; and finally, it is inferred, that a practised "rhetor" like Thrasymachus, who had studied the principles of his art, and had learnt to consult and understood how to conciliate the common sentiments of an audience, could never have propounded such a theory publicly.

With respect to the last point there can be little doubt that had Thrasymachus been addressing a public assembly of men unaccustomed to hear moral questions debated, and strongly biassed by education, association, and habit in favour of the opinions generally current about them in their society; or had he been writing a speech for a plaintiff or defendant in a civil action, where it was thought of the utmost importance to put

of stating the same doctrine; for both theories are evidently founded upon the principle that man has a natural right to do what he pleases; all that he requires is power, which confers or carries with it that right.

The sophistical opinion that justice

is a mere convention and founded upon nothing but positive enactment was afterwards revived by Carneades the Academic. "*Jura sibi homines pro utilitate sanxissent, scilicet varia pro moribus—jura autem naturale esse nullum.*" *Cic. de Rep.* III. 15. 24.

and keep the audience in a good humour with themselves and the speaker; he would not have ventured thus to fly in the face of public opinion. But this is not the case in Plato's Republic. He is there exhibited as stating his views to an audience capable of understanding him, not likely to be particularly shocked by any moral heresy, and whose prejudices, if they had any, it was in no way his interest to flatter. It does not at all follow because Thrasymachus in a philosophical discussion states unpalatable opinions broadly and decidedly, that he would do the same on occasions to him of much more importance, and before persons whom he knew he would offend by them. I must confess for my own part that I do not think we have any right to allow "inferences" derived from our own notions of what is probable or the reverse to weigh against positive statements of authors whom we profess to follow; and it certainly seems to me that we require some stronger evidence to induce us to believe that Plato has here been guilty of falsehood or exaggeration. Surely Plato's word is at least as good authority for Thrasymachus having maintained such a doctrine as any mere *inferences* can be against it.

Again with regard to the "unnecessary accessories" with which the theory is said to be surrounded and its offensiveness heightened, logically no doubt the brutality of manners with which Thrasymachus is depicted may be considered unnecessary, but dramatically, as Plato is sketching a character whilst he follows out an argument, these characteristics may be in the highest degree necessary. The question here is not whether the traits are *necessary*, but whether they are *true*: and so far as we have any contemporary evidence upon the point I have already shown that it is confirmatory of Plato's delineation.

With respect to the theory itself I think it needless to offer many remarks. It asserts in plain terms that might is right; and that a man is consulting his highest interests when he plunders his neighbours and gratifies his own passions. Can a man hold such opinions without allowing his practice to be in some degree influenced and his instructions coloured by them? and if they are so, does not this entitle us to pronounce him an immoral teacher¹? And what conceivable reason can we suppose Plato to

¹ "Those who read attentively the discourses of Glaukon and Adeimantus, will see that the substantive opinion ascribed to Thrasymachus, apart from

have had for selecting Thrasy-machus out of all those who held them (see Rep. II. 358 c) as the exponent of these opinions unless he really did at some time or other either in speech or writing maintain them? Whether these doctrines were put forth in his dissertations *de Natura Rerum*, on which as Cicero informs us, *de Orat.* III. 32, § 128, he treated and wrote (*disseruit et scripsit*), like Prodicus and Protagoras, though the thing is probable enough in itself, cannot be ascertained from want of sufficient evidence.

A contemptuous allusion to Thrasy-machus and the fees which like the other professors of rhetoric he exacted for his instructions occurs in a line of Ephippus, *Athen.* XI. 509 c, in which we have already (*Vol. II. p. 145*) endeavoured to show that Meineke's emendation, *Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειωληψικερμάτων*, ought to be adopted. Like Bryson and others he was ready to accept copper if he could not get silver or the smallest change when integral coins were not to be had. I do not at all suppose that Ephippus means to say that the fees which Thrasy-machus received *were* really small, which from the high reputation he enjoyed was not likely to be the case, or in fact that he has any other meaning than to express his contempt for the Sophists, and their practice of taking fees in general; however it appears from *Juvenal, Sat. VII. 204*, that Thrasy-machus was one of those who had occasion "to repent of their empty and barren profession (*vanæ sterilisque cathedræ*) as his end proves"—an allusion which is explained by the Scholiast, we know not upon what authority, *qui suspendio periit*: it is certainly strange that a popular rhetorician contemporary with Protagoras and Gorgias, Hippias and Prodicus, should have been driven, if the fact really were so, by want to commit suicide.

A certain Thrasy-machus appears, in an exclamation, in a fragment of Aristophanes' *Δατραλείς*, *Dind. Fr. i. Meineke, Fr. xvi. Vol. II. p. 1033*. The passage is part of a dialogue between a respectable old fashioned father and a son who has been trained under the new system which is just coming into vogue at Athens, and who consequently employs in his ordinary conversation a number of new-fangled words which he has caught from the rhetoricians of the day. One of these is, according to Meineke's

the brutality with which he is made to state it, does not even countenance the charge of immoral teaching against him

—much less against the Sophists generally." *Grote, Hist. of Greece, VIII. 539.*

emended reading, *καλοκαγαθὸν*, upon which the old man breaks out into the exclamation, *ὦιμ', εἰ Θρασύμαχε, τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγῶν περβρεύεται*; The Thrasymachus here mentioned was usually, and very naturally, taken to be the Chalcedonian Sophist; but upon this Meineke puts a very decided negative, *quæ interpretatio nullo pacto ferri potest*; though at the same time he supplies us neither with a reason for his decision nor with any other explanation. His reason is doubtless that he thinks Thrasymachus in 428, the year in which the *Δαιταλεῖς* appeared, could not have been known at Athens as a rhetorician. It is certainly improbable, but I am not aware of any positive evidence against such a supposition. Protagoras taught at Athens before Gorgias' first visit in 427 (*Hipp. Mag.* 282 D); and Thrasymachus was contemporary with the earliest of the Sophists. The old Athenian in the *Δαιταλεῖς* had another son, whom he brought up on the old fashioned system of training the body and mind equally by music and gymnastics; the pair are contrasted in the play, and of course our sympathies are enlisted on behalf of the representative of the earlier mode of education. From them the play seems popularly to have got the name of *ὁ σώφρων καὶ καταπύγων*, under which it is described, *Nub.* 522.

The singular epitaph engraved upon his tomb at Chalcedon is quoted by Athenæus, x. 454 F, from "the book of epigrams of Neoptolemus the Parian."

Τοῦνομα θῆτα, ῥῶ, ἄλφα, σάν, υῖ, μῦ, ἄλφα, χί, οὐ, σάν.

Πατρὶς Χαλκηδών· ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη.

Another Sophist and Rhetorician, somewhat later than Thrasymachus and contemporary with Isocrates but older (*Busiris*, § 50), was Polycrates the Athenian, of whom little more is known than the names of some of his declamations. He practised, or wrote speeches for use, in the law-courts, as well as show speeches for his own glory or for his school. *Dionysius*, de *Isæo* *Jud.* c. 20, classes him with Antiphon, Thrasymachus, Critias, and Zoilus, amongst the followers of Lysias and writers of the "exact" school, and composers of forensic speeches for real contests. In the latter he is pronounced "empty," and in his declamatory compositions "affected and vulgar, and inelegant in the passages where grace is required." In another place of the same author he is ranked with Antiphon, Theodorus, Isæus,

Zoilus, and Anaximenes as a second-rate author who had produced "nothing very new or extraordinary."

The two most famous declamations of Polycrates—or at any rate those for which he took most credit to himself, Isocr. Bus. § 4—were the *κατηγορία Σωκράτους*, and the *ἀπολογία Βουσίριδος*¹, Isocr. l. c. Quintil. II. 17. 4, III. 1. 11. Of the same kind was a "defence of Clytemnestra," mentioned also by Quintilian. No doubt the reason assigned by him for this odd choice of themes is the true one, that Polycrates viz. selected them in order to display his ingenuity to greater advantage by maintaining a startling paradox, and triumphing over the difficulty of the subject—a motive which may have been not without its weight in determining various modern critics and historians to similar attempts at rehabilitation. The "accusation of Socrates" was beyond all doubt a mere *ἐπιδείξις*: Diogenes Laërtius, who in his life of Socrates, II. 38, first tells us on the authority of Hermippus that it was the speech actually delivered on the trial, quotes afterwards from Favorinus a conclusive argument against its genuineness, that it "mentioned the restoration of the walls of Athens by Conon, which did not occur until six years after Socrates' death;" so clumsy a forger was Polycrates.

These two declamations called down upon him the animadversions of Isocrates, who "perceiving that he prided himself most highly" upon their composition, kindly undertook with the most friendly intentions, as he says, and the sincerest desire of doing him a service, "to endeavour to make it plain to him that he had deviated widely from the rules of propriety in both of them." Bus. §§ 2, 3, 4. It is to this benevolent effort that we are indebted for Isocrates' Busiris, in which he proposes to Polycrates and the public a model of a panegyric and apology of

¹ Busiris, whom Polycrates took for the theme of his apologetic panegyric, was a king of Egypt, son of Poseidon and Libya daughter of Epaphus and granddaughter of Zeus, Isocr. Bus. § 10, who, according to the common story, to relieve his country from a dearth of nine years' duration under the direction of a soothsayer of Cyprus named Phrasius sacrificed annually to Zeus one of the strangers who visited Egypt, the pro-

phet himself being offered as the first victim. Polycrates in his 'apology,' stated that he not only killed, but ate them, Bus. § 31; a topic, as Isocrates justly remarks, not particularly well suited to a panegyric oration. The name of Busiris became proverbial for atrocious barbarity; whence Virg. Georg. III. 4.

Quis aut Eurysthea durum
Aut illaudati nescit Busiridis aras.

ture. "And don't be surprised," he concludes with characteristic modesty and simplicity, "that one younger than yourself in no way connected with you should so readily undertake to give you advice and instruction; for it seems to me that to give advice upon such subjects is the office not of the oldest men but of the most intimate friends, but of those *who are best informed* and willing to do such a service."

Spengel is of opinion that these philanthropic exhortations of Polycrates were not without their effect, and that Polycrates indeed incontinently to panegyryze Helen, Agamemnon¹, Ulysses² and other characters of undoubted respectability. The fact however that he wrote an encomium of Helen rests upon a conjecture of Spengel himself, who although he conclusively proved, p. 73 sq. that the extant speech of Helen is wrongly ascribed to Gorgias, has certainly not succeeded in demonstrating that Polycrates is the author, nor that he ever wrote a speech at all upon that subject.

We have already had occasion to mention (Vol. II. p. 158, three other panegyric declamations, *ἑπαινοί*, of Polycrates upon the 'mice,' 'pots' and 'counters,' which are referred to by Aristotle, Rhet. II. 24, p. 107. 32, and Menander the rhetorician.

His choice of these subjects appears to have been governed by similar considerations to those which moved him to write the speech of Quintilian to undertake to write in accusation of Busiris and Clytemnestra. There is here an important difference between the two classes of

Quintilianus, *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, § 120. 14.

Aristotle, Rhet. II. 24. p. 107. 14. The inference is made in illustration of the fallacy of drawing a false inference from a few instances, *συντεταγμένως*, and is one example of a *συλλογισμὸς*. The whole is no more than this: *πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἑκατὸν εἰρησέβουλον, ὅτι τριάκοντος κατέλυσεν συντεταγμένως γὰρ.* words of Quintilian, III. 6. 26, may perhaps aid us in solving this

In explaining a system of classification similar to Aristotle's catechism consisting of nine heads or "elements" and their application to rhetoric, Quintilian rates 'number' by the following

quotation, An Thrasybulo triginta præmia debeantur, qui tot tyrannos sustulerit? Spalding apparently with good reason understands this as a reference to the same argument which Aristotle cites from Polycrates. The panegyrist "adds together" *συντίθησι* all the tyrants and claims for his hero thirty rewards, as if he had destroyed thirty tyrannies and were entitled to the gratitude of his country for each; whereas in reality in destroying the thirty tyrants he had only put down one tyranny and could properly lay claim only to one reward. This is the opposite of the fallacy *ἐκ διαίρεσεως*, explained above under Theodectes.

subjects, that whereas by the display of his skill in the embellishment of an undignified subject he merely ran the risk of bringing contempt upon himself and incurring the charge of unseemly trifling, by the attempt to make the worse appear the better cause he aggravated the jealousy and hatred—and here I merely quote Isocrates—with which ‘philosophy’ was already regarded. Bus. § 49.

Besides these works he is reported by Athenæus on the authority of Æschryon a satirist of Samos to have composed “a licentious work” under the title *περὶ ἀφροδισίων*, with the object according to the same author of traducing the character of one Philænis, who was in reality a person of exemplary modesty. The verses run thus:

Ἐγὼ Φιλαινίς, ἡ πεβίωτος ἀνθρώποις,
 ἐνταῦθα γῆρα τῷ μακρῷ κεκοίμημαι.
 μή μ', ὃ μάταιε ναῦτα, τὴν ἄκραν κάμπτων
 χλεῖν τε ποιῶ καὶ γέλωτα καὶ λάσθην.
 οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὸν Ζεῦν, οὐ μὰ τοὺς κάτω Κούρους,
 οὐκ ἦν ἐς ἄνδρας μάχλος οὐδὲ δημώδης.
 Πολυκράτης δὲ τὴν γονὴν Ἀθηναῖος,
 λόγων τι παιπάλημα καὶ κακὴ γλώσσα,
 ἔγραψεν ἄσος' ἔγραψ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα.

Master Polycrates 'twas, that Sophist of Attic extraction,
 Who, with his logical chaff and a tongue much given to slander,
 Wrote all that nonsense about me: for I was as pure as a baby.

Upon the whole from the extant notices we shall not be led I believe to form a very exalted opinion of Polycrates either as a moralist or a benefactor to his art or the literary public.

Theodorus of Byzantium is the third rhetorician who, together with Tisias and Thrasymachus, is singled out by Aristotle from the mass as one of the most important contributors to the development of his art. The same persons with the addition of Gorgias are selected also by Plato, apparently as the most distinguished representatives of the masters of rhetoric. Phædr. 261 c, 266 c, 269 d, 271 A, 273 A sq. His contributions so far as we know consisted principally in some additional technical subdivisions of the speech, similar to those of Licymnius and Evenus. These are enumerated by Plato in a passage of the Phædrus, 266 d. They are “the niceties of the art,” τὰ κομψὰ

ἡ τέχνη, and the author expresses in substance the opinion of Aristotle (Rhet. init.) though with less gravity when he ironically orders that men could take rhetoric, apart from logic or the art of reasoning, especially when made to consist in such trifles as these, for an art at all in any proper sense of the term. Theodorus added to the divisions already in use in the systems of rhetoric, such as *προσίμῳ*, *δύησις*, *μαρτυρίαι*, *τεκμήρια*, *εἰκότα*, and on, four new ones, *πίστωσις*, *ἐπιπίστωσις*, *ἐλεγχος*, and *ἐπεξελεγχος*, confirmation, after-confirmation, refutation and after-refutation," with rules for the employment of the last two in accusation and defence. How *πίστωσις* and *ἐπιπίστωσις* were made to differ from *τεκμήρια* and *εἰκότα* does not appear; and it is evident that the division was quite arbitrary and might have been tried on *ad infinitum* by the introduction of similar distinctions without difference. Aristotle likewise, Rhet. III. 13, refers to the same and similar subdivisions by 'Theodorus and his school,' cancelling *δύησις*, *ἐπιδύησις*, *προδύησις*, *ἐλεγχος*, and *ἐπεξελεγχος*, with the remark that it is absurd to invent technical distinctions and give names unless they correspond to real distinctions in nature. The same observation is applied also to Licymnius and his divisions, and has been before quoted in reference to him.

Plato applies to him the epithet *λογοδαίδαλος*¹, "tricker-out of speeches" (Wright); which, as Cicero tells us, Brut. XII. 48, that Theodorus though meagre in his oratorical style—as compared even with Lysias—was refined and inventive in his technical things, must refer as Spengel supposes, p. 99, rather to the number, variety, and skill of the rules which he drew up for the guidance of others in composition, than to any particular excellence of his own. Dionysius, de Isæo Jud. c. 19, denies him this merit: he says that he was "antiquated, inexact in his oratorical compositions, and did not bestow sufficient pains upon speeches which he wrote for practical use." It is possible however that the words *οὐκ ἀκριβῆ* applied to his technical treatises may refer to the fault noticed by Aristotle in the passage we quoted.

If we may adopt the reading of Aldus in Arist. Rhet. II. 23,

¹ Quint. Inst. Orat. III. I. 11. Theodorus Byzantius, ex iis et ipse quos Plato appellat *λογοδαίδαλους*. Cic. Orat. XII. 48. a passage from which Quintilian

seems to have borrowed his remark, without taking the trouble to ascertain by reference to the original that Plato applies the word to Theodorus alone.

p. 105, 22, ἡ προτέρα Θεοδώρου τέχνη—and I confess I can see a tolerable meaning in the received reading ἡ πρότερον Θ. τ.—it will follow that Theodorus wrote at least two ‘arts’ of rhetoric. In the ‘former art’ here referred to he exemplified the *τόπος ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων*, which indeed formed the contents of the entire work. The example given by Aristotle is however not taken from Theodorus’ treatise, but from the *Medea* of Carcinus, whose plays, if this is a fair sample of them, must have abounded, like those of Theodectes, Agathon, and in a minor degree, Euripides, with skilfully contrived debates and rhetorical subtleties of all kinds. The ‘topic’ illustrated is “the method of employing mistakes in accusation and defence.” Medea’s accusers charge her with the murder of her children, “at any rate they are not to be found; for Medea made a mistake in sending away the children: she on the other hand defends herself on the ground that it was Jason and not her children that she would have put to death; for she would have made a mistake in omitting to do this if she had been guilty of the other.” In this example the use of the topic in defence is sufficiently obvious; what use is made of it in accusation is not so easy to explain. It must be observed, that ἡμαρτη γὰρ ἡ Μήδεια περὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν παίδων is a remark of Aristotle himself, and seems to be meant for an explanation of the application of the principle. Medea’s accusers argued thus. You can’t produce your children, therefore you have made away with them. Now, says Aristotle, here was the mistake which the accusers turned to account; Medea sent away her children, and so became responsible for the production of them; had she left them in the charge of Jason she might never have been asked about them at all. The objection to this explanation is that according to it the treatment of ‘mistakes’ in the accusation and defence will be different; for in the former it is Medea’s blunder which leads to the detection of the crime, whereas in the latter she argues herself that she could not have committed the crime because the error of which she must then have been guilty would have been too gross and palpable. Still the topic of τὰ ἀμαρτηθέντα may have been treated by Theodorus in all its bearings and applications, and Carcinus may have united in one case two different modes of applying it; though it certainly shows if he did so that he had not profited to the full extent by the instructions of his rhetorical masters. As there is a real difficulty, of course

is to be derived from commentators and scholiasts: if Carcinus' play before us the enigma would be at once

ier reference to one of Theodorus' treatises occurs in 's Rhetoric, II. p. 132, 17. Amongst his rules and illus- of the various methods of giving piquancy and point to se and fixing the attention of the audience, he explained f "taking people by surprise," τὰ καιρὰ λέγειν. "This is when something unexpected, or, to use his own phrase accordance with one's previous notions (i. e. of what was be said) is introduced; as in humorous writings, when e altered for the sake of a joke. The same effect is by τὰ παρὰ γράμμα σκώμματα (i. e. jests made by the sub- of one word for another, or by the change of one or ers in a word, which is thereby made to convey a mean- lly unexpected by the hearer;) for they cheat one." l of witticism is familiar to the readers of Aristophanes, e name of the joke παρ' ὑπόνοιαν, or παρὰ προσδοκίαν; and liast refers by way of illustration to the well-known hat author, Vesp. 45, δῶς Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κώλακος παρὰ γράμμα from κόρακος) ἔχει. The example given by himself is, ἔστειχε δ' ἔχων ὑπὸ ποσσὶ χίμεθλα, "chilblains," f πέδιλα, "sandals." Aristophanes has the same, Vesp. οδαίμων ἐγὼ· δοτὶς ἐπὶ γῆρᾳ χίμετλον οὐδὲν λήψομαι². Another f the σκῶμμα παρὰ γράμμα is the παρανομασία or pun, which is, who appears to have been something of a wag, exem- practice as well as precept; and an attempt of his in

oin Spengel's explanation of though I cannot see how it the example given by Aris- seems to understand τὰ ἀμαρ- rimes, and not mistakes; and 'the accusation sets in the utable light any offences or might have been committed ve hardly been necessary to ial topic of this; what does on mean else?], the defence refutation by showing what risen out of them, or by ex- end which the accused had in pursuing the line of con- had led to them." But this,

besides being too obvious to require particular setting forth in a rhetorical treatise, is rather the way in which Carcinus and Theodorus *might* have treated the subject, than the way in which Aristotle tells us they *did* treat it.

² As a modern example of the joke παρ' ὑπόνοιαν may be quoted Erskine's formula of reply to all applications for subscriptions for charitable purposes. Sir, I beg to acknowledge the honour of the receipt of your letter, and to subscribe (here the reader had to turn over the page) myself your obedient servant &c. Rogers' Table Talk.

this kind not very easy to understand—or laugh at—is recorded by Aristotle, to whose commentators I must refer my readers for whatever amusement may be derived from the explanation. The exemplary gravity, not to say solemnity, with which the philosopher explains and criticises a series of worse than indifferent puns is one of the most amusing examples of the naïveté which characterises the great writers of ancient Greece, and like Mr Peter Magnus' practice of signing himself 'Afternoon' in hasty notes to intimate acquaintance, must have been "calculated to afford his friends the highest gratification."

But, laying aside the ill-timed levity into which we have been betrayed for a moment by the provoking simplicity of the Stagirite, let us conclude our meagre notices of Theodorus by quoting his definition of the art of Rhetoric with Quintilian's commentary thereupon. It is given by him, *Inst. Orat.* II. 15, 16: and Spalding is no doubt right in supposing that the Byzantine rhetorician is here referred to, and not Theodorus of Gadara, whose name occurs with the addition of his birthplace, apparently for the sake of distinction, in § 21. His definition was, *vis inveniendi et eloquendi cum ornatu credibilia in omni oratione*; and Quintilian then proceeds to point out, what we have already sufficiently dwelt upon, the immoral practice to which such a theory of the object of the art would necessarily give rise when consistently followed out in practice. *Sed cum eodem modo credibilia quo persuadibilia etiam non orator inveniatur, adijciendo in omni oratione magis quam superiores (who defined it simply vis persuadendi, or inveniendi quid sit in oratione persuadibile) concedit scelera quoque persuadentibus pulcherrimæ rei nomen*¹.

E. M. COPE.

¹ The Theodorus mentioned by Longinus, *de Subl.* c. 3, as the inventor of the technical term *παρὲνθυσος*, to express that kind of bombast or counterfeit sublime which consists in the exaggeration of sentiment or pathos, or in a display

of passion where none is called for—das höchste Pathos in der unrecchten Stelle, as Lessing interprets it, *Laocoon* § XLX.—is supposed by his commentator Weiske to be the Sophist of Byzantium.

II.

On the Style and Character of the Epistle to the Galatians.

THE fate of any controverted topic in history or theology is the vibration of a pendulum. It is a constant alternation between the one extreme and the other; and so far from being arrested by any renewed attempt of critics, it seems only to be carried to the opposite side, there to remain for a moment, till it is sent back again with equal force to its original position. Yet those who watch its motion narrowly will see that its arc is each time shorter than before, and that in spite of the impulse given by perverted ingenuity, it is being brought gradually to a position of equilibrium, under the gravitation of common sense. This is an obvious, and probably a trite, comparison; but it is worthy the attention of those who see in the shoals of treatises and articles on minute critical subjects with which the modern age teems, only the multiplying of books without any corresponding increase of knowledge.

The date of the Epistle to the Galatians is a case in point. The earliest critic, whose opinion is recorded, considered this the first of St Paul's Epistles¹. Some modern Theologians have

Tertullian (adv. Marc. v. c. 2) and Irenæus (Hæres. xlii.) agree in plac-

ing Galatians first in Marcion's canon. Now Marcion lived nearer to the time of the Apostle than any other whose opinion is known. He was therefore not unfavourably situated as to the date of Pontus, for ascertaining the date with regard to an Epistle first mentioned among the Galatian Churches.

He was no mean critic, where doctrinal prejudices did not interfere. The distance of sixty or seventy years was more than enough to obliterate the memory of so minute and comparatively unimportant a fact. Besides, this was a case where his anti-Judaic views carried him away. He probably

found no direct evidence leading to the date of this Epistle, and therefore felt at liberty to assign a special prominence to it, as appearing more than any other to favour that opposition between the old and the new dispensation, between St Paul and the Apostles of the circumcision, which was the key-stone of his system. Indeed the words of Tertullian seem to imply, if I mistake not, that he placed the Galatians first on doctrinal not on chronological grounds. "Principalem adversus Judaismum Epistolam nos quoque confitemur quæ Galatas docet," (l. c.). It is worth noticing that the four Epistles which Marcion placed first in his canon, (Galatians, 1, 2 Corinthians, Romans) are the only four which

placed it the last. And meanwhile it has been made to occupy almost every intermediate position between these extremes. Latterly the question seems to be arriving more nearly at a solution, and if the prevailing view is not, as I believe it is not, the correct one, still it cannot be called very extravagant or very wrong.

The definite result which is sought to be attained in this article, is the establishment of the *date* of the Epistle to the Galatians. Yet I have ventured to give it a more general title, because the date is rather the pivot on which the investigation turns, than the main object or purpose of the investigation. There is very little direct evidence bearing on the subject—nothing more than one or two scattered notices, somewhat vague in themselves, and leading only to approximate results. Consequently the burden of the proof rests on the examination of St Paul's style, and of the lines of thought and feeling which may be traced in the Epistle. Thus our main object will be to investigate the character of the letter to the Galatians from this point of view, and so to place it in its proper position in relation to the other Epistles of the same Apostle.

But before entering upon this wider field, it will be necessary, for the sake of completeness, to give a summary of the direct evidence, such as it is, bearing on this question. And this I shall do, as briefly as possible, inasmuch as I shall for the most part be occupying ground, which has been often travelled over before. There seem then to be but two historical notices in the Epistle to the Galatians, which are of much value towards determining its date.

First. St Paul mentions *two* journeys to Jerusalem after his conversion (Gal. i. 18; ii. 1). The second of these is probably the same with the third recorded in the Acts (xv. 4 sqq.) on the occasion of which the Apostolic Council was held. There are, doubtless, some difficulties attending this view, the most formidable being the silence of the Apostle as to the second visit of the Acts (xi. 30; xii. 25)¹, and his omission of any mention of

Baur, his modern representative as to the relation between St Paul and the other Apostles, will allow to be genuine.

¹ The following considerations seem materially to impair the force of this

objection; (1) This second visit had no bearing whatever on the question of which St Paul is treating in Gal. i. ii. It is not St Paul's purpose there to give a complete list of his journeys to Jerusalem, but only of his conferences with the

apostolic decree¹. But these difficulties are far from insurmountable, while, on the other hand, it is almost impossible to identify the second visit of the Galatians with any other than the third of the Acts; and even if this were not so, still the striking features of resemblance between the two would naturally

lead to the conclusion of the circumcision on the subject of the relation between the Jewish and Gentile Churches, and the Law and the Gospel generally. (2) His object on that occasion, as related in the Acts (xi. 29), was to imply that he carried alms to the Church at Jerusalem; and we are there told that Paul and Barnabas returned as soon as they had fulfilled their ministrations (*ὡσαύτως τὴν διακονίαν*, Acts xii. 25). His stay was therefore probably very

short. We need not presume from the brevity of the narrative, Acts xi. 29—xii. 25, that the events related in the twelfth chapter occurred while St Paul was at Jerusalem. The mention of Judæa (xi. 15) is suggested, by way of parenthesis, in the narrative (xii. 1—24) of what took place almost contemporaneously (*κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν καιρὸν*). The historian relates Paul's return (xii. 25) to the subject of his first visit. (3) Even if it were possible that St Paul contemplated holding conferences with the Jewish Christians, the distressed condition of the Church at that time would have been inconsistent with any such design: and in any lengthened stay might even have endangered his personal safety. He probably, therefore, saluted the Church (as Acts xviii. 22), placed the matter in the hands of trustworthy persons, and made arrangements for taking John with him, and departed at once. A hint is given in the narrative of Acts (xii. 17), that the chief of the apostles of the circumcision, St James, had fled elsewhere for refuge; a circumstance which is sufficiently significant as to the state of the Church at Jerusalem. Paul has not only omitted, in the Acts, to mention his second visit to Jerusalem, but also his fourth (Acts

xviii. 22). Now the second visit took place thirteen or fourteen years before this Epistle was written, and the fourth only three or four years before. The omission of the latter, therefore, is more remarkable than that of the former. But in fact St Paul's silence as to both these visits points to the true solution of the difficulty, viz. that he selected for mention those facts only which had any bearing on his immediate subject.

¹ It may be a question whether the Galatians were, or were not already in possession of the apostolic decree. From the narrative of the Acts it seems highly probable that they were (xvi. 4—6). But however this may be, there are no positive reasons why St Paul should have omitted to mention it here. For (1) The Judaizing teachers had been unduly exalted in the Galatian Churches at the expense of his apostolic authority, and he would have seemed to sanction this course by appealing to the decree of a council held at Jerusalem on a point on which his decision, as an Apostle, was final. This argument is insisted on with good reason by Thiersch (*Kirche im Apost. Zeit.* s. 130). (2) The apostolic decree did not in fact meet the case of the Galatian Churches. The decree was framed to relieve the Gentile Christians from the pressure of the Jewish Christians. It said, "Concede so much, and we will protect you from any further exactions." But the Galatian Christians asked for no such relief. They were willing recipients of Judaic rites, and St Paul's object was not to shew them that they need not submit to these burdens if they did not like, but that they were wrong and sinful in submitting to them.

lead us to recognise in them only different accounts of the same event. Now the chronology of the Acts fixes the date of this journey at A. D. 51. The Epistle moreover alludes to a visit of St Peter to Antioch, in a manner which seems to imply that it took place soon after this conference at Jerusalem. If so, it must have occurred during St Paul's stay at Antioch, recorded Acts (xv. 30—35). Therefore the Epistle to the Galatians was not written before that date, i. e. not before late in the year 51.

Secondly. There seems to be an allusion in this Epistle to two separate visits of St Paul to Galatia. The allusion is not very distinct, and many have been unable to see it at all. Yet this view is perhaps more in accordance with the strictly grammatical interpretation of the passage¹, and assists in the understanding of the context. The words referred to are these: οἶδαν δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, καὶ... ὡς ἄγγελον Θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Τίς οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν; ... ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; (Gal. iv. 13—16). It is argued, I think with fairness, that τὸ πρότερον here implies a subsequent occasion when he preached the Gospel among them, and that it is to this he refers, when he speaks of incurring their enmity by telling them the truth. There is a *contrast* between his reception on the two occasions. Now the visit to Lycaonia, related Acts xiv. 6, cannot, without hazard, be construed into a visit to Galatia, for many reasons. It remains then that the two Galatian visits of the Epistle, must be those recorded Acts xvi. 6, and xviii. 23. Thus the Epistle must have been written subsequently to the latter of these, which we ascertain from the Acts to have taken place about A. D. 54.

These considerations however, even if they are thought satisfactory, only establish the *earliest* possible date of the Epistle.

¹ It is not sufficient to meet the grammatical argument from the article τὸ πρότερον by saying that τὸ πρότερον does not always mean 'on the former occasion' in such sense as to imply that the event was repeated. This may be so, but on the other hand τὸ πρότερον does not mean simply 'some time ago.' τὸ πρότερον is never used, at least in the Greek Testament, except with distinct reference to

another point of time (see Joh. vi. 62, vii. 50, v. l., 1 Tim. i. 13), whether τὸ νῦν (= formerly) or τὸ δεύτερον (= on the former occasion). In other words, it is always emphatical. And it is because no adequate explanation can be given here of the emphasis without assuming two visits to Galatia, that we are driven to this assumption.

We are still left in uncertainty as to the actual time when it was written. Have we sufficient data to ascertain this?

In the opening of the letter, immediately after the salutation, St Paul bursts out in an indignant remonstrance with his Galatian converts for their fickleness and love of novelty. 'I marvel that ye *are so fast changing* from Him that called you unto another Gospel' (i. 6). I have endeavoured in this translation to give as far as possible the same degree of ambiguity which we find in the original *θανυμίζω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως μετατίθεσθε*. The English version, overlooking the force of the present tense, and then as a natural consequence assigning a more definite meaning to *οὕτω ταχέως*, translates it 'that ye are so soon removed.' This is the turn which most critics seem to have given to the passage, and on it they found an argument. "To what point of time," it is asked, "does St Paul refer in the words 'so soon'? Evidently to his second and last visit to Galatia—'so soon after I left you.' Now St Paul paid his second visit to the Galatian Churches immediately before his three years' sojourn at Ephesus (from A.D. 54—57). Thus the letter must have been written soon after this—at all events during his stay at Ephesus, and *before* the two Epistles to the Corinthians."

And some have found a confirmation of this date in St Paul's words, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 'Concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye.' This command, it is said, was in all probability communicated orally by the messenger, who carried the Galatian Epistle; and therefore the letter must have been despatched before the First to the Corinthians was written.

No one, I suppose, would lay much stress on the argument last mentioned, except as a confirmation of results established independently. And consequently I shall pass it over for the present, as I shall have occasion to revert to it again, when I hope to give a different, and I trust at least as reasonable an account of this allusion to the collection of alms in the Galatian Churches.

According to this view then the letter must have been written 'soon' after St Paul's second visit to Galatia, which took place A.D. 54. But here a difficulty occurs. We cannot fail to observe the strong similarity between this Epistle, and the one to the Romans written A.D. 58. Hence there is a grave reason for

placing it as near as possible to this latter date. Thus we are drawn in different directions by two opposite forces—the expression *οὐτω ταχέως* in the Epistle attracting us towards the earlier, its resemblance to the Romans towards the later date; and we have to find the resultant.

The most uncompromising advocates of *οὐτω ταχέως*, such as Wieseler, entirely overlook the strong similarity between the two Epistles, and are satisfied with fixing the date of the Galatians at A. D. 54 or 55. Others (and this is the prevailing view recently adopted by Mr Alford) consider that conflicting claims are adjusted by assigning it to the close of St Paul's stay at Ephesus A. D. 57, thus bringing it within a year or so of the Epistle to the Romans; but they will go no further. Both the one and the other interpose the two Epistles to Corinth.

Both these views seem to me to be open to grave objections. The former, by separating the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans by an interval of four years, is guilty of a glaring disregard of style and matter. The latter, while recognising the claims of style and matter, yet fails to assign to them their due weight; and equally bent with the former on defining the sense of *οὐτω ταχέως*, yet suffers a period of three years to elapse, while it strenuously objects to allowing an additional few months. The gain of extending the period by a few months is obvious, inasmuch as it would bring the Epistle to the Galatians in closer chronological relation to the Epistle to the Romans.

But after all, the dilemma is perhaps a fictitious one, arising from a mistaken attempt to define and restrict *οὐτω ταχέως*. The words 'ye are so fast changing' may, it is true, mean 'so soon after I was among you,' or even 'so soon after ye were converted.' In the former case there would be an interval of less than four years, in the latter of seven years between this and the writing of the Epistle to the Romans, i. e. of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $6\frac{1}{2}$ years respectively between this and the date which it is proposed here to assign to the Galatian Epistle. Is this period too long to be designated by the phrase 'so soon,' considering the momentous nature of the change? At all events, why should so much stress be laid on the difference of half a year at most? If three years, or even six (as others suppose) are consistent with the expression 'so soon,' surely there is no sufficient reason for demurring at extending the period to $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $6\frac{1}{2}$ years.

But there is yet another sense which οὐτω ταχίως μεταρθεοθε will bear equally well (considering the tense, perhaps even better) 'ye are so fast, so rapidly changing;' thus making the starting point in ταχίως not the conversion of the Galatians, nor the last visit of the Apostle, but the commencement of the change itself, the interference of the Judaizing teachers. But whichever be the right interpretation, the words are too indefinite to cause any embarrassment, should we find occasion to place the date of the Epistle as late as the beginning of the year 58.

Now St Paul's Epistles, exclusive of the Galatians, may be divided chronologically into four classes—which correspond to four distinct epochs in the Apostle's life.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | 1, 2 Thessalonians, | A.D. 52, 53. | { | <i>Second Apostolic Journey.</i> | |
| (2) | 1, 2 Corinthians,
Romans, | { | A.D. 57, 58. | { | <i>Third Apostolic Journey.</i> |
| (3) | Philippians, Colossians,
Ephesians, Philemon, | { | A.D. 61, 62. | <i>Roman Captivity.</i> | |
| (4) | 1, 2 Timothy, Titus, | A.D. 67, 68? | <i>After the Release.</i> | | |

This fourfold division is with but few exceptions acquiesced in by those, who pay proper attention to the style and matter of the Epistles; though by disregarding these, it would be possible to arrange them in many different ways, without contradicting the direct evidence. For instance, we may fit the historical notices in the Pastoral Epistles into the period of St Paul's life coincident with the history of the Acts, and by this arrangement get rid of the necessity of assuming his liberation from the Roman imprisonment, and his second captivity. But this advantage is purchased at a great cost. For the Pastoral Epistles, at the same time that they have a general resemblance to the other letters of St Paul, are yet in many respects so unlike them in style and diction, while they bear a strong similarity to each other, that this reason alone would compel us to place them together, and assign them to a distinct period of the Apostle's life.

It is now pretty generally agreed that the Epistle to the Galatians belongs to the second of these classes—that which

comprises the two to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans. So far the views combated above, and that maintained in this Article, run parallel. But here the divergence begins. While they place it before the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and separated from it by a greater or less interval, it seems to me for many reasons preferable to arrange it after the Second; so that the chronological order will be, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans. This view has been stated hesitatingly by De Wette, and advocated with more confidence by Messrs Conybeare and Howson¹, while the vast majority of later critics, including Prof. Jowett and Mr Alford, declare against it. Yet I cannot help thinking, that if the arguments in its favour had been drawn out *in extenso*, they would have commanded a more general assent.

But before attempting to do this, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on the general tenour of St Paul's Epistles.

As there is a chronological sequence in these four classes of St Paul's Epistles, so also I think we may trace in them a corresponding sequence of doctrine. There is a gradual expansion of Christian truth, a constant ascending from high to higher, in some sense a going on unto perfection. We have in them four successive links of the chain which binds earth to heaven. In the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the Apostle's theme is the resurrection and the judgment; in the Corinthians, Galatians and Romans, it is the scheme of man's redemption; in the Epistles of the Roman captivity, the doctrine of the Person of Christ; in the pastoral letters, the establishment and discipline of the Christian Church. Thus we have first the awakening of the sinner's conscience by setting forth the responsibility of his actions, and the final reckoning between God and man. Here it is *Christ the Judge*. Next, we have the means of healing the wounds thus inflicted on the conscience; we are told of the ransom of Christ's death, of the liberty of the Gospel, of our Justification by Faith, of the death to sin and the life in Christ. Here it is *Christ the Redeemer*. Thirdly, from the relation between Christ and the believer we pass to the relation between Christ and God, and the veil is for a moment withdrawn, and we are per-

¹ Grotius is generally quoted as an authority in favour of this view, but he merely says, at least in his introduction

to the Epistle, that he considers it must have been written at a time not far distant from the Epistle to the Romans.

mitted to gaze on the holiest mysteries. Here it is *Christ the Word*. And lastly of all, as his dying bequest to his sons in the faith, when he was now ready to be offered, and his departure was at hand, the Apostle left yet another volume containing directions for the preservation in all their integrity and to all time of those precious truths, for which he had lived and for which he was soon to die. Here it is the *Church of Christ*.

I have no intention of stopping here to inquire to what causes, speaking as men, we may refer this fact. It is sufficient for my present purpose to treat it simply as a fact. For it is one which is perhaps equally significant, and equally explicable, whether we take very high or very low views of inspiration, and its bearing on the present question will not be materially altered, as we adopt the one or the other. Nor again is it meant to imply that these characteristic differences in the four classes of St Paul's Epistles are carried out in minute detail, or that the subject-matter of each is kept quite distinct from the other. This was perhaps not to be expected; perhaps it was not possible. It is certainly not the case. They are only the predominant features. They stand out in relief only by comparison; but in this way they are perhaps sufficiently marked.

Now, let us suppose for a moment that the Epistle to the Galatians occupies the position, which I hope to shew there is tolerable evidence for assigning to it. Let us suppose, that is, that it stands after and not before the Epistles to the Corinthians. I think it will be seen that this position renders the sequence, which I had just been considering, more gradual and regular, and is therefore in some degree more appropriate. This is not brought forward as an *argument*, for it is too vague in its bearing, and, as some will say, looks too like an accident, to deserve the name. At least it was an afterthought, and in no way led to the view here taken of the date. Let it then be taken as a *suggestion*, in case this date is established independently. The First Epistle to the Corinthians then follows on the Two to the Thessalonians. Now Mr Jowett has remarked that 'in the difference between the First and Second Epistles themselves, we find a link of transition between the Thessalonians and the later writings of the Apostle¹.' I have no concern here with Mr Jowett's explanation of this fact, or his inferences from it: but

¹ Vol. I. p. 11.

he seems to be right in saying that in the more extended view of the resurrection and judgment, presented in the Second of Thessalonians, there is a preparation for the doctrines inculcated in those Epistles which follow. But if it is true that the Second of Thessalonians points forward to the later Epistles, it may be said with even more truth that the First of Corinthians directs us back to the Thessalonians. There is no Epistle of St Paul (with the exception of those to the Thessalonians) which refers so often and so largely to the resurrection and the judgment. He dwells on this subject in his opening expression of joy 'that the Corinthians should be waiting for the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm them unto the end, that they may be blameless in the day of the Lord Jesus Christ' (i. 8); in his reproof of the fallibility of human judgment, 'Therefore judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart' (iv. 5, so *ὑπὸ ἀποκάλυψης ἡμετέρας*, verse 3); in giving directions for the punishment of the offender, 'That the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (v. 5); in condemning the litigious spirit of the Corinthians, 'Know ye not that ye shall judge angels?' (vi. 3); in recommending them to disengage themselves from earthly ties, 'The time is short...the fashion of this world passeth away' (vii. 29); in the similitude of the race, 'They do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible' (ix. 25); in condemning the profanation of the Eucharistic feast, 'We are chastened of the Lord that we may not be condemned of the world' (xi. 32); in commending charity above all spiritual gifts, 'When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away;...now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known' (xiv. 10, 12); and lastly of all, in a complete exposition of the doctrine itself which occupies the whole of the fifteenth chapter, no inconsiderable portion of the whole Epistle. From first to last the Apostle's watchword is ever the same—*MARAN ATHA*, 'the Lord will come' (xvi. 22).

Thus the First Epistle to the Corinthians catches up and prolongs the note struck in the Thessalonians. The one fits on to the other so exactly that it seems something like violence to separate them, as we should do by interposing the Epistle to the Galatians. But place the letter to the Galatians

after the letters to Corinth, and all runs smoothly. The First Epistle to the Corinthians links on the second class of St Paul's Epistles to the first. Christian liberty and Christian forbearance—the theme of the First Epistle to Corinth; the imitation of Christ and the life in Him—the theme of the Second Epistle to the same church; justification by faith and the free grace of God—the theme of the Galatian Epistle; are all gathered together, arranged, and systematized in the Epistle to the Romans, which thus presents a comprehensive view of the relation of the Christian to Christ, and of the scheme of redemption, and forms a fit introduction to those higher mysteries opened out in the Epistles of the Roman captivity. In these latter Epistles Christ is set forth as the Word, whether as 'He who was from the beginning in the form of God,' as in the Philippians (ii. 5); or as 'the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature,' 'in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' as in the Colossians (i. 15; ii. 9); or as He who is 'set far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come,' as in the Ephesians (i. 21). And thus we are prepared by the Epistles of the Captivity, in those glimpses which are given us of Christ dwelling in the glory of the Father, for that still fuller development of the doctrine of Christ the Word, which forms the special teaching of St John—the highest knowledge to which we may attain until the end of all things, when we shall know even as we are known.

After saying thus much on the doctrinal sequence to be traced in the Epistles of St Paul, it will be necessary, as an introduction to the examination of the particular character and scope of this Epistle, to give a brief sketch of St Paul's history from the close of his three years' sojourn at Ephesus to his subsequent visit to Corinth, i. e. of the period of about a year, during which the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans were certainly, and that to the Galatians probably, written.

Our information is derived from two sources. We have the narrative of St Luke, more or less detailed, and we have St Paul's own letters containing only scanty notices, it is true, of external incidents, but affording a full insight into the workings of his mind. If we had only the account of the sacred historian, we should see no special significance in this epoch of the Apostle's

life. His labours seem less severe, his persecutions less dangerous, his prospects more cheering than at many other stages of the narrative. It is only when we read the Apostle's own letters, where he lays before us the record of his inmost feelings—his disappointments, his anxieties, his loneliness, his anguish, his almost despair—that we recognise in the incidents of these few months the most important crisis of his Apostolic life; a fiery trial, which would have consumed one weaker than St Paul, but from which he came forth refined and purified and strengthened. We must infuse the Spirit of the Epistles into the incidents of the Acts before we can understand their real significance.

His long sojourn at Ephesus was now drawing to a close. His labours there had been crowned with no ordinary success. 'The word of God prevailed and grew mightily.' So we read in the historian's narrative. He says nothing of persecutions. But we must draw no hasty conclusions from this silence. For the same historian records how the Apostle, in his farewell to the Ephesian elders a year later, speaking of his labours among them, reminded them of his 'many tears and temptations, which befel him by the lying in wait of the Jews' (xx. 19). In his own Epistles, St Paul speaks in stronger language of the persecutions of this time. He compares his sufferings to those of the condemned slave, thrown to the beasts in the amphitheatre, and struggling for life and death—angels and men witnessing the spectacle (1 Cor. iv. 9; xv. 32). The Apostles, he says, were made as the filth of the world, as the offscouring of all things (iv. 13).

It was now the spring of the year fifty-seven, and he contemplated leaving Ephesus after Whitsuntide. Friends had arrived from Corinth and drawn a fearful picture of the feuds and irregularities that prevailed there. He at once despatched a letter to the Corinthians, reprobating their dissensions and exhorting them to acquit themselves of guilt by the punishment of a flagrant offender. But he was not satisfied with merely writing: he sent also trusty messengers, who might smoothe difficulties, by explaining by word of mouth much that was necessarily omitted in the letter. Titus was one of these: and he awaited his return in great anxiety, as he had misgivings of the reception of his letter at Corinth. And now a tumult broke out at Ephesus. The opposition to the Gospel came to a head. His companions

were seized and violently hurried before the people. He himself was with difficulty persuaded to shelter himself by concealment till the storm was over. The storm passed, but the sky was still lowering. It was evident that his presence at Ephesus could now be of little use, and might only exasperate the enemies of the Gospel¹. Besides the time was near, perhaps had already arrived, when he had intended, under any circumstances, to turn his steps westward. So he left Ephesus. But Titus had not yet come, and his anxiety for the Church at Corinth pressed heavily upon him. He hastened to Troas, hoping to meet Titus there. 'A door was opened' to him at Troas. But Titus came not. He was oppressed at once with a sense of loneliness, and an ever-growing anxiety for the Corinthian Church. He could no longer bear the suspense. He left Troas and crossed over to Macedonia. Still Titus came not. Still the agony of suspense, the sense of loneliness remained. Time only increased his suffering. Every day brought fresh troubles; gloomy tidings poured in from all sides; church after church added to his anxiety. Nor had persecution ceased. The marks of violence imprinted on his body about this time remained long after—perhaps never left him. Probably too his constitutional complaint visited him once more—the thorn in the flesh to which he alludes in his letter to the Corinthians—the weakness which years before had detained him in Galatia. He seemed to be spared no suffering either of body or mind. There were fightings without and fears within. At length Titus arrived. This was the first gleam of sunshine. The tidings from Corinth were far more cheerful than he had hoped. His mind was relieved. He wrote off at once to the Corinthians, expressing his joy at their penitence, and recommending mercy towards the offender. The crisis was now over. He breathed freely once more. From this time his troubles seem gradually to have abated. A single verse in the sacred historian conveys all we know beyond this point of his sojourn in Macedonia. 'He went over those parts,' we are told, 'and exhorted the people in many words' (Acts xx. 2). From thence he visited Greece, where he remained three months. These are almost all the particulars related of his movements at this period. Of persecutions and sufferings we read nothing: and so far we are left

¹ In this summary of St Paul's history at this period I have ventured here and there to explain motives and to interpret obscurities.

in the dark. But when we contrast the more tranquil tone of the Roman Epistle, written during his stay at Corinth, with the tumultuous conflict of feeling which bursts out in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, we can scarcely avoid the inference, that the severity of his trials had abated in the interval, and that he was at length enjoying a season of comparative repose. It was some time during this interval, that the Epistle to the Galatians was probably written.

Even in one far less sensible to impression than St Paul, we should have expected to find no indistinct traces of the conflict in which he had been engaged. Such traces are unmistakably stamped on all his acknowledged letters of this period—traces more or less deep as the conflict raged or abated. In the Two Epistles to the Corinthians, and in the Epistle to the Romans, though in a less degree, we have an unwonted tension of feeling, and a fiery energy of expression, which forms an instructive contrast with the less abrupt and comparatively tranquil character of the Epistles which precede, and those which follow them chronologically—of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and those of the Roman captivity alike. And it is because we find these same features in the Epistle to the Galatians, that we conclude it to have been written at the same period, and under the influence of the same circumstances. As this was the epoch of St Paul's greatest mental struggle, so was it also, perhaps as a natural consequence, the epoch of his greatest epistolary activity. His letters from first to last probably cover a space of not less than fifteen years; yet four of the longest of these, forming together no less than two-thirds of the whole volume, were written within the short space of a year. Owing to their greater length in proportion to the rest, it is probably from these Epistles that we get our general impression of St Paul's style; yet their style is in some sense an exceptional one, called forth by peculiar circumstances, just as at a late period the style of the Pastoral Epistles is also exceptional though in a different way. The normal style of the Apostle is rather to be sought for in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and those of the Roman captivity.

Those whose attention has not been directed to the subject may perhaps be disposed to treat any attempt to discriminate the different styles of St Paul, as a wild dream; yet the facts are striking and palpable, and will, I think, need but little com-

ment. Before proceeding however to a general investigation of these facts, I will take a single passage from the Galatians, and examine it with a view to discovering its points of contact with the known Epistles of this period—i. e. the Romans, and 1, 2 Corinthians. The passage was not chosen quite at random; indeed some salient features are absolutely requisite, where a passage is to serve as a test; but I have no reason to think that if any other portion of the Epistle of the same length were chosen, the result would be essentially different.

Gal. v. 9—15. *μικρὰ ζύμη ὄλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. 10 ἐγὼ πέποιθα ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε· ὁ δὲ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ. 11 ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι δαίκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ. 12 ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς. 13 Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. 14 ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πληροῦται, ἐν τῷ, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν. 15 εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε.*

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10. *ταράσσειν* occurs only here and in Gal. v. 10; *βαστάζειν* is peculiar to Class 2, being found R³ G⁴.

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11. The position of *ἐγὼ*, thus suspended, has a closer parallel in 2 Cor. ii. 10, than in any other passage I have observed in St Paul. The argumentative *τί ἐστι* is confined to Galatians and Romans (R^3G^1). The argumentative *ἄρα*, without *οὖν*, commencing a sentence is peculiar to Class 2, occurring 8 or 10 times. *καταργεῖν* is found no less than 22 times in Class 2, distributed thus, $R^6C_1^9C_2^4G^3$, and only in 3 places elsewhere in St Paul. *σκάνδαλον*, *σκανδαλίζειν*, do not occur out of Class 2. *σκάνδαλον* is found R^4 (twice from LXX) $C_1^1G^1$, *σκανδαλίζειν* $R^1C_1^1C_2^1$. The appeal to his sufferings to attest a truth has a parallel in 1 Cor. xv. 30, 32.

12. *ἔφελον* is confined to Class 2, thus $C_1^1C_2^1G^1$. *ἀποκόπτειν* and *ἀναστατοῦν* are not found elsewhere in St Paul.

13. *ἐλευθερία* ($R^1C_1^1C_2^1G^4$), and *ἐλευθεροῦν* (R^4G^1), are peculiar to Class 2, and *ἐλεύθερος* is much more frequent here than elsewhere, occurring 14 times ($R^3C_1^6G^6$), and only twice besides. *ἀφορμὴ* is found 6 times in Class 2 ($R^3C_2^3G^1$), and only once elsewhere.

14. A most striking parallel to Rom. xiii. 9, as will be seen hereafter¹.

15. *δάκνειν* is not found elsewhere in St Paul. *κατεσθίειν* occurs only 2 Cor. xi. 20, where the metaphor is the same. Compare also *καταπίνειν*, found only in $C_1^1C_2^2$, in all of which passages it is metaphorical.

As a set-off against this, it should be mentioned that *ἀνάλισκος* (ver. 15) is only found elsewhere in 2 Thess. ii. 8, as a doubtful reading. Beyond this the passage has not, as far as I have observed, anything in common with the other Epistles of St Paul, which is not found also in the remaining Epistles of this Class.

Having given this passage as a sample, I shall now proceed generally to note down some of those peculiarities of style which distinguish the Epistles of the Third Apostolic Journey, from those of an earlier or a later date.

1. St Paul's Epistles are associated in our minds with profuse quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures. This is strictly true of the Epistles under consideration, but it is not true of any others. In the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, in those to the Colossians and Philippians, in the letters to Titus and Philemon, there is not, I believe, a single quotation. There are two in

¹ p. 314.

the Ephesians (iv. 8; v. 14), one in the First to Timothy (v. 18), and possibly one in the Second to Timothy (ii. 19). Thus in all the remaining Epistles together there are 4 quotations at most; in the class we are considering there are some 80 or 90. This is unquestionably due in a great degree to the conflict with Judaism, in which St Paul was engaged at this period of his life. Once for all the battle was waged, and the controversy set at rest for ever¹. Judaism had received its death-blow, and its extinction was now only a question of time. This doubtless will explain much, but it will not explain all. It is not only in dealing with Judaistic errors that the Old Testament is appealed to. In questions of morals and questions of doctrine, which have no reference to the great controversy of Jew and Gentile, its authority is cited; and where it is not employed as a sanction, it is still brought forward by way of analogy or illustration. Exclusive of references to the history, the Epistle to the Galatians alone contains ten distinct quotations from the Old Testament, i. e. about three times as many as a whole body of Epistles six times its length, or in the proportion of nearly 20 to 1.

2. Not less remarkable are the frequent interrogations which characterise this set of Epistles. This is here the common form of objection, of denial, of rebuke, of menace, of emphasis. It is not unlikely that some instances may have been passed over, but I have only observed seven or eight interrogations in the whole of St Paul's Epistles not belonging to this period; while in these they could probably be counted by hundreds. In a single chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the interrogations sometimes number twice as many as in the whole body of Epistles which were not written at this time. As an instance of the contrast in this respect between the Apostle's style at this and at a later period, I will place side by side parallel passages taken from two of St Paul's letters,—the one written when his sufferings had reached their climax, the other during the long calm of the Roman captivity—the one the most impassioned, the other perhaps the most tranquil of all his Epistles.

¹ Whatever may be the nature of Epistles, it is clearly not pure Pharisaic the heresy combated in the Pastoral Judaism.

2 Cor. xi. 21—23.

Κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς
 ἡσθενήσαμεν· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τις τολμᾷ
 (ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ λέγω) τολμᾷ καὶ γὰρ.
 Ἑβραῖοί εἰσι; καὶ γὰρ Ἰσραηλίται εἰσι;
 καὶ γὰρ διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσι; (παρα-
 φρονῶν λαλῶ) ὑπὲρ ἐγώ· ἐν κόποις
 κ.τ.λ.

Phil. iii. 3—8.

Καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες, καί-
 περ ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποιθήσιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί.
 εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί,
 ἐγὼ μᾶλλον· περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος,
 ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν,
 Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων... ἀλλ' ἅτινα ἦν
 μοι κέρδη, ταῦτα ᾔφημαι διὰ τὸν
 Χριστὸν ζημίαν. ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ
 ἡγοῦμαι πάντα ζημίαν εἶναι. κ.τ.λ.

There are as many interrogations in this single passage from the Corinthians, as can be found throughout the four Epistles of the Roman captivity. But the comparison is instructive in other respects than this, and would have been still more striking, if space had allowed of giving the contexts in full. The passages are so like, and yet so unlike. They are evidently written by the same hand. Their purport is the same. There is the same enumeration of outward privileges, the same sense of their utter worthlessness, the same glorying in humiliation. But the form which this assumes in the two cases is widely different. In the one there is a direct reference to personal opponents, in the other an indirect refutation of false views of the Gospel. In the one there is an impatient jealousy of misinterpretation, a fear of even the momentary semblance of overrating these nothingnesses, a feeling that the very mention of them needs an apology, which breaks out from time to time in the exclamations, 'I speak in my folly,' 'I speak as a fool.' In the other the list proceeds uninterruptedly; the Apostle dwells, we might suppose, with a lingering satisfaction on the catalogue of his fleshly privileges; he seems for a time to be indeed glorying in them; when all at once the building piled up with so much labour is shattered to fragments by the touching words, 'But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea, and I count all things but loss for the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.' Different in expression as the two passages are, there is the same depth of feeling in both. It would be difficult to call the one more earnest or more noble than the other.

3. There is, I believe, a fondness for double compounds observable in these Epistles. Such are in the Galatians, *προσωνάτι-
 θεσθαι*, *συμπαλαμβάνειν*, *παρεισέρχεσθαι*, *συνυποκρίνεσθαι*, *προευαγγελί-*

ζεσθαι, ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι, ἀπεκδέχεσθαι. I shall not attempt to give a list, but those who wish to satisfy themselves how far this is the case, may do so by consulting Bruder's Concordance under the heads ἀμετα-, εἰπρος-, ἐπισυν-, παρεισ-, προεν-, προση-, προκατα-, προσ-ωα-, συνακα-, συναπτι-, συνευ-, συνυπο-, συμπαρα-, ὑπερεκ-, ὑπερεν-, etc.

4. There are many remarkable words and expressions which are confined exclusively to these Epistles, where they occur in greater or less abundance. Not a few of these are inseparably associated in our minds with St Paul's style, though from what has been said it will appear that there is no evidence of his having used them, except at a particular period of his life. Such are the apologetic κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω and μὴ γένοιτο. There are other words again, which, though not confined to these Epistles, yet occur here in a profusion quite out of proportion to their length.

These peculiarities in most cases are to be traced either to (a) the influence of external circumstances, e.g. his conflict with certain forms of error, or with certain irregularities, etc.; or to (b) particular lines of thought, favourite images, etc. which dwelt on his mind at this time, and which are not so obviously referable to the former head; or to (c) the argumentative character of these epistles; or more generally to (d) their impassioned style, and energy of expression. An illustration or two under each of these heads will suffice, before giving the general table.

(a) This was the epoch of St Paul's great struggle with Judaism. Hence he was led to an exposition of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and to contrast the liberty of the Gospel with the bondage of the law. Accordingly the words ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω, δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις, and the expression σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, are peculiar to these Epistles, while νόμος, ἀκροβυστία, δικαίωω, ἐλεύθερος, are beyond comparison more frequent here than in his other writings. Again, his conflict with his antagonists obliged him to assert his claims to attention. Hence the profuse use of the word καυχᾶσθαι.

(b) Instances of images which dwelt on his mind at this period are the sowing and reaping, the leaven, etc. Hence the use of σπείρω, θερίζω, ζύμη, φύραμα. His favourite contrast of weakness and strength will explain the frequent occurrence of ἀσθένεια.

(c) To the argumentative character of great portions of these Epistles is to be traced the frequent use of *τί οὖν*; *τίς οὖν*; of *ἄρα* argumentative, of *μὴ γένοιτο*.

(d) To general energy of style are to be referred *ὑπερβολή* (especially in the phrase *καθ' ὑπερβολήν*), and other compounds of *ὑπέρ*; the use of *ἴδε*, *ἴδου* in calling attention to a statement; and forms of affirmation, such as *λέγω δέ*, *γνωρίζω ὑμῖν*, etc.

The following lists will now explain themselves. The first contains words and expressions confined to these Epistles; the second such as occur in disproportionate frequency in them. Unless for special reasons however, only such are catalogued as occur in the Galatians, and therefore the lists do not at all adequately represent the peculiar characteristics of the whole class. A term for instance might occur profusely in Romans and 1, 2 Corinthians, but would be omitted here as not bearing on the question of the affinity of the Galatians to this class. I should add, that the lists—the second especially—do not pretend to be exhaustive, and probably might be swelled considerably. I have also omitted such expressions as will occur in the lists which will follow of special affinities, which the Galatians has with the Romans and 2 Corinthians respectively.

A. Words and expressions peculiar¹ to these Epistles.

'Αβραάμ. R ⁹ C ₂ ¹ G ⁹ .	ἀφορίζειν. R ¹ C ₂ ¹ G ² .
σπέρμα 'Αβραάμ. R ² C ₂ ¹ G ¹ . υἱοὶ ἄχρισ οὖ. R ¹ C ₁ ¹ G ¹ G ¹ (v. l.)	[γίγνεσθαι]
'Αβραάμ. G ¹ .	μὴ γένοιτο. R ¹⁰ C ₁ ¹ G ² .
ἀλλάττειν. R ¹ C ² G ¹ .	γνωρίζω [-ζομεν] ὑμῖν. C ₁ ² C ₂ ¹ G ¹ .
Its compounds:	[γράφειν]
μεταλλάττειν. R ² .	γέγραπται, 'scripture saith.' R ¹⁶
καταλλάττειν. R ² C ₁ ¹ C ₂ ² .	C ₁ ⁷ C ₂ ² G ⁴ .
καταλλαγῇ. R ² C ₂ ² .	διχοστασία. R ¹ C ₁ ¹ G ¹ .
ἀνάθεμα. R ¹ C ₁ ² G ² .	δοξάζειν τὸν Θεόν. R ² C ₁ ¹ C ₂ ¹ G ¹ .
[ἄνθρωπος] κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. R ¹ C ₁ ³ G ² .	ἐκπίπτειν. R ¹ C ₁ ¹ G ¹ .
κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ. C ¹ .	[ἐλεύθερος. See List B.]
κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω. R ¹ G ¹ .	ἐλευθεροῦν. R ⁴ G ¹ .
ἀνθρώπινον λέγω. R ¹ .	ἐλευθερία. R ¹ C ₁ ¹ C ₂ ¹ G ⁴ .
ἀπέρχεσθαι. R ¹ C ₂ ¹ (v. l.) G ¹ G ¹ (v. l.)	ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον. R ¹ C ₁ ¹ G ¹ .
ἀποστολή. R ¹ C ₁ ¹ G ¹ .	

¹ This expression is used here and elsewhere solely in reference to St Paul.

The other writings of the New Testament are not taken into account.

ἐφ' ὅσον. R^1 .
 εὐφραίνειν. $R^1 C_2^1 G^1$.
 [ζῆλος. See List B.]
 ζῆλόν. $C_1^4 C_2^1 G^4$.
 ζύμη. $C_1^4 G^1$.
 ζυμῶν. $C_1^1 G^1$.
 ὥσποיעῖν. $R^2 C_1^3 C_2^1 G^1$.
 (elsewhere only 1 Tim. vi. 13, as
 v. l.)
 ἑρρίζω. $C_1^1 C_2^2 G^4$, always as a
 metaphor.
 ἴδε. $R^1 R^1$ (v. l.) G^1 .
 ἴδου. $R^1 C_1^1 C_2^6 C_3^1$ (v. l.) G^1 .
 ἱερουσαλήμ. $R^4 C_1^1 G^2$.
 ἱεροσόλυμα. G^2 .
 καλῶν (ἐστὶ sub.). $R^1 C_1^4 G^1$.
 καταλύειν. $R^1 C_2^1 G^1$.
 κατηχεῖν. $R^1 C_1^1 G^2$.
 [λέγω]
 ἀλλὰ λέγω. R^2 .
 λέγω δέ. G^2 .
 λέγω οὖν. R^2 .
 λέγω δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι. C_1^1 .
 πάλιν λέγω. C_2^2 .
 τοῦτο δὲ λέγω. G^1 .
 ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι. G^1 .

ὅμως = 'even.' $C_1^1 G^1$.
 ὀφειλή. $R^1 C_1^1$.
 ὀφειλέτης. $R^2 G^1$.
 ὀφειλημα. R^1 .
 ὄφελον. $C_1^1 C_2^1 G^1$.
 [πλανᾶν]
 μὴ πλανᾶσθε. $C_1^2 G^1$.
 προερεῖν. $R^1 C_2^2 G^1$.
 ποῦ; ποῦ οὖν; 'what has become of,'
 $R^1 C_1^2 G^1$.
 σκάνδαλον. $R^4 C_1^1 G^1$.
 σκανδαλίζειν. R^1 (v. l.)
 $C_1^2 C_2^1$.
 σπείρειν. $C_1^2 C_2^2 G^2$.
 σπῆρος. C_2^2 .
 [σπέρμα. See list B.]
 τί οὖν; τίς οὖν; passim.
 ὑπέρ, several compounds of, as
 ὑπερλίαν, ὑπερρυκᾶν, ὑπερεκτείνειν,
 ὑπερπερισσεύειν, etc.
 ὑπερβολή. $R^1 C_1^1 C_2^2 G^1$.
 ὑπερβαλλόντως. C_2^1 .
 φύραμα. $R^2 C_1^2 G^1$.
 ὠφελείν. $R^1 C_1^2 G^1$.
 ὠφέλεια. R^1 .

B. Words and expressions frequent in these Epistles. .

ἀκροβυστία. $R^{11} C_1^2 G^2$.	elsewhere three times.
ἀπεκδέχεσθαι. $R^2 C_1^1 G^1$.	— once.
ἄρα, commencing a clause, $R^9 C_1^1 C_2^2 G^2 G^1$ (v. l.)	— three times.
[without οὖν. $R^1 R^1$ (v. l.) $C_1^1 G^4 G^1$ (v. l.)	— never.]
ἀσθενής. $R^1 C_1^{10} C_2^1 G^1$.	— once.
ἀσθενεῖν. $R^4 R^1$ (v. l.) $C_1^2 C_2^6$.	— twice.
ἀσθένεια. $R^2 C_1^2 C_2^6 G^1$.	— once.
ἀσθένημα. R^1 .	— never.
ἄχρισ. $R^4 C_1^2 C_2^2 G^2$.	— twice.

δικαιοῦν. R ¹⁵ C ₁ ³ G ³ .	elsewhere twice.	}
δικαίωμα. R ⁵ .	— never.	
δικαίωσις. R ¹ R ¹ (v. l.)	— never.	
ελεύθερος. R ³ C ₁ ⁶ G ⁶ .	— twice.	
(In its Christian sense never except in these Epistles.)		
[ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐλευθερία. See List A.]		
ζῆλος. R ² C ₁ ¹ C ₂ ⁵ G ¹ .	— twice.	
[ζηλοῦν. See List A.]		
καταργεῖν. R ⁶ C ₁ ⁹ C ₂ ⁴ G ³ .	— three times.	}
καυχᾶσθαι. R ⁵ C ₁ ⁴ C ₁ ¹ (v. l.) C ₂ ³⁰ C ₁ ¹ (v. l.) G ³ .	— three times.	
καυχῆμα. R ¹ C ₁ ² C ₁ (v. l.) C ₂ ⁸ G ¹ .	— twice.	
καυχῆσις. R ² C ₁ ¹ C ₂ ⁶ C ₂ ¹ (v. l.)	— once.	
κατακαυχᾶσθαι. R ³ .	— never.	}
νόμος. R ⁷⁶ C ₁ ⁸ G ³⁸ .	— six times.	
περιτέμνειν. C ₁ ³ G ⁶ .	— once.	
περιτομή. R ¹⁵ C ₁ ¹ G ⁷ .	— eight times.	
σπέρμα. R ⁹ C ₁ ¹ C ₂ ¹ G ⁵ .	— once.	

From this list it will be seen how close a resemblance the Galatians bears to those Epistles which we know to have been written in the years 57, 58; a resemblance too in those very points in which they are distinguished from the rest of St Paul's letters. We may conclude then, with a great degree of probability, that it was written somewhere about the same time.

But this is not all. A closer examination enables us to narrow the limits still further. There are grave reasons for supposing that it cannot have been written till after the 2 Corinthians, and must have been written before the Romans, i. e. subsequently to St Paul's arrival in Macedonia, and before his departure from Corinth, on his return.

1. It has been observed by Mr Jowett that the Epistle exhibits a strong resemblance to the Romans and 2 Corinthians; and he has traced the resemblance, with a few unimportant exceptions, with great truth. It is somewhat strange therefore that he should not have drawn the natural inference from this fact, viz. that this Epistle should be placed chronologically between the 2 Corinthians and Romans. Perhaps by supplying an intermediate step, this inference will become more obvious. It is not only true then that there is this resemblance, but also that the Galatians has greater affinity to either the Romans or 2 Coria-

thians, than the one has to the other, and therefore in absence of sufficient proof to the contrary, may be regarded chronologically as a link between the two.

Its similarity to the Romans indeed is most striking; scarcely less so, than that between the Colossians and Ephesians. And I cannot but think that it is equally violent to separate the two by any long interval in the one case as in the other. The latest editor of the Galatians however, to whom English students are under great obligations, has acquiesced in the view which fixes the writing at Ephesus. 'It seems to me,' says Mr Alford, 'that the elementary truths brought out amidst deep emotion, sketched, so to speak, in great rough lines in the fervent Epistle to the Galatians, were exceedingly likely to have dwelt on St Paul's mind, and worked themselves out, under the teaching and leading of the Spirit, into that grand theological argument which he afterwards addressed, without any special moving occasion, but as his master-exposition of Christian doctrine, to the Church of the metropolis of the world¹.' This is true, but it is not the whole truth. The resemblance between the Galatians and Romans consists not only in the oneness of the great lines of thought; it consists also in the parallelism of arrangement, and in the more or less exact coincidence of language. And it is the very fact that these truths were likely to have dwelt on St Paul's mind, and dwelt constantly too, and struck their roots deeper and deeper, as time advanced, that makes one look with suspicion on an arrangement which inserts the two letters to Corinth between those to the Galatians and Romans; for though these truths do appear in the Corinthian Epistles, (since lying at the very foundation of Christianity they could not but make their presence felt at all times) yet they do not appear on the surface or with any special prominence, and are not marked by those characteristic illustrations, and that epigrammatic form of expression, which is their distinguishing feature in the Romans and Galatians.

As an example of the resemblance between the two Epistles, I have given a continuous passage from the Galatians, and noted down, side by side with it, the parallels from the Roman Epistle. These are taken chiefly, but not entirely, from the fourth and fifth chapters of that Epistle. It will be seen how striking is the similarity of language in many instances; but my object, here at

¹ Greek Test. III. p. 5.

least, was not so much to point out verbal coincidences, as by taking a portion of the Galatians, to shew how almost every thought and illustration could be matched from the other Epistle. The English is inserted here and there to supply the sense without the necessity of writing out the Greek in full.

(1) GALATIANS, iii. 6 sqq.

v. 6. [It is said in Gen. xv. 6.]

Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσε τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

v. 7. γινώσκετε ἄρα, ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως οὗτοί εἰσι υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ.

v. 8. προῖδούσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ Θεός, προευγγελίσαστο τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

v. 9. ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογούνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ.

[Thus the promise is not of law]

v. 10. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσιν.

[according to the language of Scripture.]

v. 11. ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδαὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ δῆλον,

ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται (Hab. ii. 4).

ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς (Levit. xviii. 5).

v. 12—14. [From this curse Christ ransomed us, having himself become accursed, as Scripture witnesseth; so that the

ROMANS.

τί γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην (iv. 3).

πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη;...ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ...εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων (iv. 10, 11).

καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τίθεικά σε (iv. 17).

οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς οἱ μάλ्लει λογίζεσθαι (iv. 23)...ταῖς στοιχοῦσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν τῆς...πίστεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ (iv. 12).

ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται (iv. 15).

νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ πεφανέρωται, μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν (iii. 21).

καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται (i. 17).

Μωσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς (x. 5).

[The same thought expressed in different language, Rom. iv. 23, 24.]

GALATIANS.

blessing of Abraham is ours by faith.]

v. 15—18. [Neither can the law interpose,]

εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας, τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ Θεός.

v. 19. τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προστετέθη.

v. 19—21. [But the law was temporary and ineffective; for]

v. 22. συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφὴ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.

v. 23—26. [So the law stood to us in the relation of a παιδαγωγός, from whose tutelage we are now free; and are sons of God through Christ.]

v. 27. ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε Χριστὸν ἐνδύσασθε.

v. 28. [There is no distinction of race or caste or sex.]

v. 29. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἅρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστὲ καὶ κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

IV. 1—5. [But hitherto we have been in the position of an heir, who has not attained his majority. Now Christ's death has recovered us our right.]

ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν· ὅτι δὲ ἐστὲ υἱοὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεός

ROMANS.

οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραάμ...τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου...εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμος κεκένωται ἡ πίστις καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία...διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ πίστεως ἵνα κατὰ χάριν (iv. 14, 16).

ὁ δὲ νόμος παρεισήλθεν ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα (v. 20). οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις (iv. 15; cf. iii. 20).

[Cf. Rom. viii. 3, 4.]

προηγησάμεθα...πάντας ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι, καθὼς γέγραπται (iii. 9, 10). συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ (xi. 32. See also v. 20, 21).

ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς τὸν Χριστόν (vi. 3).

ἐνδύσασθε τὸν Κύριον Ἰ. Χ. (xiii. 14).

τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας λογίζεσθαι εἰς σπέρμα (ix. 8), and the passage cited below.

ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσι Θεοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον,

GALATIANS.

τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ· ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ (v. 1.).

ROMANS.

ἀλλὰ λάβετε πνεῦμα υιοθεσίας, ἐν ᾧ κρᾶζομεν Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ· αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐσμὲν τέκνα Θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι μὲν Θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ (viii. 14—17).

The following passages will serve as additional instances of this parallelism.

(2) Διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιοθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ (fr. Ps. cxliiii. 2.) Gal. ii. 16.

Διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιώσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. Rom. iii. 20.

In both passages the quotation is oblique; in both it is introduced by διότι; in both ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is inserted by way of explanation; in both πᾶσα σὰρξ is substituted for πᾶς ζῶν of the LXX. (and Hebr.); and in both the application of the passage is the same.

(3) ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρως διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας [γεγέννηται]... ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ. Gal. iv. 23, 28.

ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα· τοῦτ' ἔστιν... τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα. Rom. ix. 7, 8.

(4) ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου, ὡς σεαυτὸν. Gal. v. 14.

ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκε· τὸ γὰρ οὐ μοιχεύσεις κ.τ.λ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, ἐν τῷ· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν... πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη. Rom. xiii. 8, 9, 10.

(5) ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός. ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται. Gal. v. 17.

βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατεύμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου... ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῷ δουλεύω νόμῳ Θεοῦ, τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας. Rom. vii. 23, 25.

εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον. v. 18.

ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν με ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. Rom. viii. 2.

GALATIANS.

(6) ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστά-
ζετε. (vi. 2.)

ROMANS.

ὀφειλομεν δι' ἡμεῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τὰ
ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων βαστάζειν
(xv. 1).

It will be unnecessary to add many words on a resemblance so close as these passages exhibit. Observe only that it is manifold and various. Sometimes it is found in a train of argument more or less extended, and certainly not obvious, as in (1) and (5); sometimes in close verbal coincidences where the language and thoughts are unusual, and the coincidence was therefore less to be expected, as in the closing sentence of (1); sometimes in the same application of a text and the same comment upon it, where that application and comment have no obvious reference to the main subject of discussion, as in (4). Resemblances so striking and so diverse, occurring between the same Epistles, lead almost inevitably to the conclusion that the Epistles could not have been separated from each other by an interval of more than a few months.

It remains only to give a list of such words and phrases as are peculiar to these two Epistles:

βαστάζειν R² G⁴.

δουλεία R² G².

ἐλευθερώω R⁴ G¹.

ἴδε R² G¹.

κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω R¹ G¹.

(ἄνθρωπινον λέγω R¹).

see 1 Cor. ix. 8.

κατὰρα G², καταρᾶσθαι R¹.

κῶμοι R¹ G¹.

μακαρισμός R² G¹.

μίθη R¹ G¹.

οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα } R² G¹.
πράσσοντες }

ὀφειλέτης R² G¹.

παραβάτης R² G¹.

παρ' ὃ R¹ G².

τί ἐτι; R² G¹.

τί λέγει ἡ } R² G¹.
γραφή; }

The resemblance to the Second of Corinthians is of a different kind. It consists not so much in words and argument, as in tone and feeling. 'In both there is the same sensitiveness in the Apostle to the behaviour of his converts to himself, the same earnestness about the points of difference, the same remembrance of his "infirmity" while he was yet with them, the same consciousness of the precarious basis on which his own authority

rested in the existing state of the two Churches. In both there is a greater display of his own feelings than in any other portion of his writings, a deeper contrast of inward exaltation and outward suffering, more of personal entreaty, a greater readiness to impart himself¹.

The similarities then are mostly of a general character, and therefore less imposing, when set down on paper. It is only when the Epistles are read consecutively, and the reader tries to enter into the feelings of the writer, that the force of the resemblance is felt. Still a few affinities of a more special kind may be pointed out. Thus Gal. iii. 13, *Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρης τοῦ νόμου γεγόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρᾳ* has a very close parallel in 2 Cor. v. 21, *τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ*. Compare also Gal. i. 9, *ὡς προεῖρήκαμεν, καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω*, and v. 21, *ἀ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον* with 2 Cor. xiii. 2, *προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω*, and Gal. iii. 3, *ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελείσθε* with 2 Cor. viii. 6, *ἵνα καθὼς προεῖρηξάτο οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ* (see also Phil. i. 6), or Gal. vi. 7, *ὁ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει* with 2 Cor. ix. 6, *ὁ σπείρων φειδομένως, φειδομένως καὶ θερίσει*. Again, they have in common the peculiar phrases *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον* (Gal. i. 6. 2 Cor. xi. 4), *καὶ κτίσις* (Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. v. 17), *ἀνθρώπους πείθειν* (Gal. i. 10, 2 Cor. v. 11). Again, the metaphor of *κατεσθίειν* is peculiar to these Epistles (Gal. v. 15, 2 Cor. xi. 20. Cf. *καταπίνειν*). So also the words *ἀπορεῖσθαι* C₂¹G¹, *κανὼν* C₂³G¹ (in Phil. iii. 16 as a false reading), *κυρώ* C₂¹G¹, *τοῦνάντιον*, C₂¹G¹ *φοβοῦμαι μήπως* C₂³G¹; and doubtless not a few others might be found. Still it is not improbable that nearly as many *special* coincidences might be pointed out between Galatians and the First Epistle, and it is rather in the broad features that its resemblance to the Second Epistle is to be looked for.

The general result then of this investigation seems to be to establish the intermediate position of the Galatians between the 2 Corinthians and Romans. No special instance of course is of value compared with a conclusion built on such a wide basis; yet I cannot but think that this result is remarkably borne out by a comparison of three lists of 'the works of the flesh' taken from these Epistles.

¹ Jowett, Vol. I. p. 196.

2 CORINTHIANS.	GALATIANS.	ROMANS.
<p>ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεΐαι καταλαλαί, ψιθυρισμοί, φουσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι.....ἀκα- θαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ. xii. 20, 21.</p>	<p>πορνεία, ἀκαθαρ- σία, ἀσελγεία, εἰδω- λολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεΐαι, δι- χوستασίαι αἰρέσεις, φθό- νοι, †φόνοι†, μέθαι, κῶμοι. v. 19—21.</p>	<p>ἀδικία, πονηρία, πλεο- νεξία, κακία, μιστοὺς φθόνου, φόνου, ἔριδος δόλου, κακοηθείας, ψι- θυριστάς, καταλάλουν κ.τ.λ. i. 29, 30. κῶμοις καὶ μέθαις, κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις, ἔριδι καὶ ζῆλῳ. xiii. 13.</p>

It will be allowed here I think that the passage from the Galatians forms a more suitable connecting link, and therefore better occupies the middle place than that from the Corinthians. But at all events, a comparison of this list in the Galatians with that in 1 Cor. vi. 9, will shew as far as a single instance can, that the Galatian Epistle is more closely allied in expression, and therefore probably stands nearer in point of time to the Romans than the First Epistle to the Corinthians does. Contrast also these catalogues with one of a later date, 2 Tim. iii. 2.

Such then are the broad grounds on which it seems necessary to place this Epistle between the Second to the Corinthians and that to the Romans. But other indications are not wanting, which confirm this date.

2. The sixth chapter of the Galatians commences with the exhortation, 'Brethren, though a man be overtaken (ἐὰν καὶ προλημφθῇ) in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted.' There is something peculiarly earnest in the abruptness with which this command is introduced. There is a marked tenderness in the appeal to their brotherhood which prefaces it¹. An undercurrent of deep feeling is evident here. It is as though some care weighed on the Apostle's mind. Now if we suppose the Galatian Epistle to have been written after the Second to the Corinthians, we have at once an adequate explanation of this. A grievous offence had been committed in the Christian community at Corinth. In his First Epistle to the Church there,

¹ In all those passages where ἀδελφοί commences a sentence, this earnestness of feeling may be traced. Cf. Rom. x. 1. ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς

καρδίας καὶ ἡ δέησις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν. 1 Cor. xiv. 20; Gal. iii. 15.

St Paul had appealed to the brotherhood to punish the guilty person. The appeal had not only been answered, but answered with so much promptness, that it was necessary to intercede for the offender. He commended their indignation, their zeal, their revenge; they had approved themselves clear in the matter (2 Cor. vii. 11), and now they must forgive and comfort the erring brother, lest he be swallowed up with over much sorrow (2 Cor. ii. 7). It was the recollection of this circumstance that dictated the injunction in the Galatian Epistle. The Galatians were proverbially passionate and fickle. A reaction might be expected, and when it came, it might be attended, as at Corinth, with undue severity towards the delinquents. The Epistle therefore was probably written while the event at Corinth was fresh on St Paul's mind—perhaps immediately after he had despatched Titus and the Second Epistle, and was still in suspense as to the issue—perhaps after he had himself arrived at Corinth, and witnessed too evident signs of over-severity.

3. As the practical errors, with which St Paul had been brought in contact among the Corinthians, suggested this practical injunction in the Galatian Epistle, so also the doctrinal errors which he had combated in the churches of Galatia suggested the general exposition of doctrine which we find in the Epistle to the Romans. The relation between the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans has often been pointed out, and indeed is too obvious to be easily overlooked. What in the one is personal and fragmentary, elicited by the special needs of the Galatian Church at that particular time, is in the other completed and generalised for the instruction of all churches in every age. In fact, so clear is the relation in which the one stands to the other, as the rough model to the finished statue, that very few critics of consideration have ventured to attribute a priority of date to the Roman Epistle. But we may say more than this. The Roman Epistle displays the results of the Apostle's conflict with all forms of evil, whether doctrinal or practical, during that most eventful year of his life, which preceded its writing. The practical errors of the Corinthians and the doctrinal errors of the Galatians, have alike contributed to the erection of this noble monument of Apostolic wisdom. Here we have side by side the cardinal doctrine of Justification by Faith, and the great practical lesson of Christian forbearance. If there is a full exposition of

the relation of the law and the Gospel—of grace and works—founded upon the teaching of the Galatian Epistle, there are also injunctions no less clear as to the observance of days and the eating of meats, suggested by his advice in his letters to the Corinthians.

We have seen then generally, that the Epistle to the Galatians has much in common with the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans, and that there is therefore a strong presumption in favour of assigning to it an intermediate date. We have seen that a certain passage in this Epistle seems to have been suggested by circumstances of which St Paul takes cognizance in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and that therefore the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was probably anterior to it. And we have seen lastly, from the relation which it bears to the Epistle to the Romans, that it must, in all likelihood, have preceded that Epistle. It remains now to be considered whether, assuming this order to be correct, the gradation of tone and feeling, and the sequence of thought and teaching, exhibited in these Epistles, taken chronologically, are such as, under the circumstances, might have been expected.

4. It has been seen under what an accumulation of sufferings, mental and physical, St Paul laboured at this period. It was only to be expected that these sufferings should have given a tone to the Epistles written while they lasted, or while the memory of them was still fresh. And we find this to be the case. But the problem here assumes a more definite form. What is the exact influence, which they have on his language and feelings, as traced in *each* of these Epistles? And is this influence, in the particular degree in which it is exhibited in the Epistle to the Galatians, such as might have been looked for in a letter written before the First to the Corinthians, or after the Second?

Now in the First Epistle to Corinth, his sufferings for the Gospel are alluded to more than once. He refers to them in one passage at some length (iv. 9—13), to point a contrast between the humiliation of the teacher and the exaltation of the taught. He speaks of himself as suffering every deprivation, as treated with every kind of contempt. And he alludes once and again to these afflictions, as witnesses to the immortality of man. 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable' (xv. 19). 'Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I

protest I die daily. If I fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?' (xv. 30—32.) But the mention of these is only occasional; it does not colour the whole Epistle. In the Second Epistle the case is very different. Here it is the one topic from beginning to end. His physical sufferings have increased meanwhile: and to them have been added mental agonies far more severe. Tribulation and comfort—strength and weakness—glorying and humiliation—alternate throughout the Epistle. He dwells on his afflictions as an assurance of God's providence, which had not deserted him in his sorest trials (i. 3—10), and a token of His power, which had manifested itself in 'earthen vessels' (iv. 7—11). He appeals to them, as an evidence of his consecration to the ministerial office (vi. 4—10; xii. 12), as an answer to the extravagant claims of rival teachers (xi. 21—28), as an antidote to spiritual pride in himself (xii. 7, 10), as a sign of his love towards his children in the faith (vii. 4—7, 13), as a witness of his yearnings after immortality (iv. 16—v. 4). They call forth his sympathies for the Corinthians, 'who are partakers of his sufferings' (i. 6, 7), and his admiration of the Macedonians who, 'in a great trial of affliction,' had ministered beyond their power to the necessities of the saints (viii. 1—4). He says that he had had the sentence of death in himself (i. 9). He boldly affirms that the sufferings of Christ had abounded unto him (i. 5). The whole Epistle in short is one outpouring of affliction; yet we feel that the worst is already past. The first ray of sunshine has pierced the gloom. The penitence of the Corinthian church has made him 'exceeding joyful in all his tribulation' (vii. 4). We are not surprised therefore when, after the lapse of a few months, we find the Apostle writing in a strain of less impassioned sorrow. It would not indeed be correct to say that there is no tinge of sadness in the Epistle to the Romans (for in which of the Apostle's letters is there not?) but persecution is alluded to once or twice only, and then in the calmer tone of one, who is looking back on the past, rather than of one who is narrating present experiences. Now what is his language in the Galatians? Is it the language of one, whose severer afflictions are beginning, as in the First of Corinthians; or have just reached their climax, as in the Second of Corinthians; or have become a portion of the past, as in the Romans? There is only, as far as I remember, one direct allusion to the subject. 'If I still

preach circumcision,' St Paul asks, 'why am I then persecuted?' But there is an indirect allusion which is far more forcible.

At the close of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, St Paul had, in his own handwriting, given the substance of the whole letter in a few pregnant sentences. 'The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand. If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema. *Maran Atha* (The Lord will come)'. He pursues the same course in this Epistle also. After the tenth verse of the last chapter, he takes the pen from the amanuensis, and adds the conclusion in his own hand. He writes in large bold characters, that he may attract the eye, and so rivet the mind². He calls attention to the size of the letters, and to the fact that they are written by himself. He would imply, it seems, that he assigned to the words which follow all the prominence of a special message, and invested them with all the authority of his Apostolic office. Having done this, he warns the Galatians against the artifices of the Judaizing teachers: he contrasts their boasting with his own. 'God forbid,' he says, 'that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ;' he tells them that in Christ neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything; and he invokes a blessing on those who walk by this rule. Then as a final appeal, and as it were to silence all opposition and controversy, he sums up with a terrible earnestness, 'From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.' Does not this seem like the language of one, who has lately passed through a fiery trial, and who, looking back upon it in the first moment of abatement, while the recollection is still fresh upon him, sees in his late struggles a new consecration to a life of self-denial, and an additional seal set upon his Apostolic authority. In other words,

¹ Gal. v. 11. It was hastily assumed in a former number of this journal (No. VII. p. 100), that the first *ἐν* referred to the time before St. Paul's conversion. The explanation given in the text (p. 322) seems preferable.

² Gal. vi. 11. *Ἰδετε πολλοὺς ὤμων γράμματα ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ*. I have taken *ἔγραψα* as the epistolary aorist, and as referring to what St Paul is writing at the time. The best break seems to be after the tenth verse,

and the words *ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ* will then refer to the concluding portion of the epistle from the eleventh verse onward. The explanation of *πολλοὺς γράμματα*, as alluding to St Paul's imperfect sight, seems to me unnatural, even supposing he did labour under this defect, which is, perhaps, more than questionable. The expression, *ἀνεύσας*, used of St Paul, leads rather to the supposition of a keen sight.

does it not seem to follow naturally *after* the tumult of affliction, which bursts out in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians?

Perhaps this passage too, in connexion with the events of the year preceding, may serve to throw light on one or two otherwise obscure hints in this Epistle. 'If I *still* preach circumcision, why am I then persecuted' (v. 11)? 'If I were *still* pleasing men, I should not have been a *servant of Christ*' (i. 10). May we not connect these expressions with the words, '*Henceforth* let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body *the marks* (*τὰ στίγματα*) of the *Lord Jesus*' (vi. 17)?

On the evening of the day when George Herbert was inducted into the cure of Bemerton, he said to a friend, 'I beseech God that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others as to bring glory to my Jesus, *whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governor*: and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe and obey and do his will, and *always call him Jesus my master*, and I will always condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a Priest, and serving at the altar of *Jesus my master*;' and his biographer adds, 'And that he did so may appear in many parts of his Book of Sacred Poems; especially in that which he calls The Odour. In which he seems to rejoice in that word *Jesus*, and say, that the adding these words, *my master* to it, and the often repetition of them, seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragranciness in his very breath.' May we not trace something of the same kind in the Apostle's language at this time? Persecution, perhaps combined with sickness, had inflicted a permanent injury upon him. Reflecting on the severe trial through which he had passed, and bearing on his body the marks of that trial, he delighted to recognise in them the tokens of his service to his Lord, the signs of ownership branded upon him, as it were, by his divine master. Henceforth then Jesus was his master, henceforth he was the slave of Christ, in a fuller sense than he had ever been hitherto. Whether the great Apostle, like the English clergymen, realised this relation to himself by a single act, and assumed the title of slave by one definite resolution, it would be idle to inquire. There was nothing new in the term *δοῦλος* itself. It might well be adopted by any Christian to denote his entire submission to his Lord. It was in fact so adopted by St Peter, St James, and

St Jude. But neither was there anything strange in the title 'Master,' which George Herbert resolved to use. It is at least remarkable in the case of St Paul, that in the same Epistle in which he speaks of himself as bearing on him the *στιγματα* of the Lord Jesus, he calls himself for the first time *Χριστοῦ δούλος*, marking the time too in language of striking significance: 'If I *still* preached circumcision,' 'If I were *still* pleasing men,' 'From *henceforth* let no man trouble me;' and that in the very next Epistle which he writes, dating probably not more than a few months after the Galatian letter, he designates himself *Παῦλος δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*—a title which he continues to use occasionally afterwards, but which is not found in any superscription before the Epistle to the Romans, and not at all before the above passage in the Epistle to the Galatians.

5. When we turn to the exposition of Christian doctrine, with which St Paul meets Judaistic errors in these Epistles, it is found more to accord with the chronology here adopted, than with that which is generally followed.

Prof. Jowett indeed gives a different account of the relation between the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Galatians in this respect, but I cannot think that he is right. 'A similar inference [of priority of date] may be drawn from the relation of the Epistle to the Galatians to that[?] to the Corinthians. We trace in the former Epistle the personal antagonism in its first burst of indignation, and confined to the single point of circumcision; in the latter, the same antagonism extending to many points, including a defence of the Apostle, as well as a reproof of his opponents¹.' If this statement were correct, it would still be far from conclusive as to the priority of the Galatian Epistle, inasmuch as it is an arbitrary step to connect the Judaizers of Galatia with those of Corinth. But it seems to me that the case is very different. The Judaism of the Corinthian Church is scarcely

¹ Jowett, I. p. 202. Baur also considers the Judaism of the Corinthian Epistles to be a later and more developed form than that of the Galatians. His account of the matter, however, is, in the highest degree, improbable. He supposes that the Judaizers have in the interval changed their tactics, and, finding their former position strongly as-

sailed, have relinquished the doctrinal ground of circumcision, and commenced a personal attack on St Paul. Of the Galatian Epistle, he says rightly, 'Es handelt sich noch ganz um die Beschneidung, als die unbedingtste Anerkennung der Gültigkeit des mosaischen Gesetzes.' (Paulus, p. 256.)

met at all on doctrinal grounds. It is the influence of Jewish teachers, who strove to undermine the *personal* authority of St Paul. Some of them at least rested their claims to superiority on a more intimate connexion with the Lord. Doubtless doctrinal error would have been the next step, and the Apostle foresaw this. But so far from this antagonism being not confined to circumcision but extending to many points, it can scarcely be said, at this stage, to have touched even the single point of circumcision. The antagonism of the Galatian Epistle is an advance upon this. For how different is St Paul's language in the two cases. He tells both churches, indeed, in almost the same words, that 'circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing' (1 Cor. vii. 19, Gal. v. 6, vi. 15), but then his practical comment in the two cases presents a striking contrast. To the Corinthians he says: 'Is any man called being circumcised? let him not be uncircumcised: Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised' (2 Cor. vii. 18). To the Galatians: 'Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing; and again I testify, etc.' (Gal. v. 2). In the one Epistle he is dealing with a hypothetical case; he speaks as if to guard against future error. In the other, he is wrestling with an actual evil present in its most virulent form. Circumcision is only one point, but it contains all implicitly: 'Every man that is circumcised is a debtor to do the whole law.'

And in accordance with the more definite form assumed by the Judaism of the Galatian Church, we find that the exposition of those doctrines of Christianity which meet the question, is proportionably more ample in the Epistle.

Take for instance the great doctrine of Justification by Faith. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, it is said that Christ 'was made unto us wisdom and righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*) and sanctification and redemption' (i. 30); and again 'ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus' (vi. 11). And there is a less distinct allusion to this doctrine in another passage (iv. 4). In the Second Epistle the Gospel is called 'the ministry of righteousness' (*δικαιοσύνης*, iii. 9), and is contrasted with the old dispensation, which is 'the ministry of condemnation.' And in another place it is declared, that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses to them. For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin,

that we might be made the righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*) of God,' (v. 21.) Here the doctrine is stated clearly enough, but there is no approach to the fulness with which it is set forth in the Galatian Epistle. The illustration, the antithesis, the aphorism, the scriptural sanction, are missing. It is not the language which St Paul would have used, had the doctrines been as virtually denied, as they were in the Galatian Church.

It is necessary to anticipate misapprehension when speaking on this subject. There is no doctrine which occupies a larger space in St Paul's 'Gospel,' or partakes more of the very essence of Christianity than this. There is none therefore of which it may be more confidently affirmed that it formed part of that message, which he 'received from the Lord Jesus.' When therefore we find no mention of it, as in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, it is unwarrantable to assume on this ground, that it was ignored or imperfectly appreciated by St Paul at that period. Indeed we have his own testimony that at the very time, when circumstances led him to write to the Thessalonians only of the resurrection and the judgment, he had determined among the Corinthians to whom he was preaching, to know nothing 'save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified¹.' Nay more: St Luke records how, in addressing the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia some years before, he told his hearers that 'through Jesus was preached unto them forgiveness of sins; and in Him every man that believed was justified from all those things from which they could not be justified in the law of Moses' (Acts xiii. 38, 39). And the language of St Peter, declaring before the apostolic council that it was 'through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ that Jews no less than Gentiles trusted to be saved' (xv. 11), explains how St Paul in their subsequent controversy at Antioch could appeal to him as one who, like himself, 'knowing that a man is not justified by works of law, but by faith in Jesus Christ, believed in Christ Jesus, that he might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of law' (Gal. ii. 16). These passages will shew, as might have been assumed on *à priori* grounds, that the doctrine was held and preached by St Paul, many years before the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians were written. If therefore it is invested with a greater prominence in the Galatian Epistle, than

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 2. The Epistles to the Thessalonians were written from Corinth, during the visit here alluded to.

in the Epistles to the Corinthians, this is to be accounted for by the more determined character which the antagonism of the Judaizers had meanwhile assumed, and which led St Paul to assert the doctrine more strongly and under new and striking forms. We have thus a confirmation of the later date of the Galatian Epistle.

For the reasons given above I have been led to place the Galatian Epistle after the letters to Corinth. They certainly do not amount to a demonstration, but every historical question must be decided by striking a balance between conflicting probabilities; and it seems to me that the arguments here advanced, however imperfect, will hold their ground against those which are alleged in favour of the earlier date. In the interval then between the writing of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and that to the Romans, the Galatian letter ought probably to be placed. Beyond this I will not venture to define the time; only suggesting that the greeting from 'all the brethren which are with me' (i. 2), seems naturally to apply to the little band of his fellow-travellers, and to hint that the letter was not despatched from any of the great churches of Macedonia, or from Corinth. It may have been written on the journey between Macedonia and Achaia. And it is not improbable that it was during St Paul's residence in Macedonia, about the time when the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written, that St Paul received news of the falling away of his Galatian converts, and that they were prominent in his mind, when he spoke of his daily anxieties, 'the care of all the churches' (2 Cor. xi. 28). If so, he would despatch his letter to the Galatians as soon after as a suitable bearer could be found.

In conclusion, I must redeem my promise of giving an account of the allusion to the collection of alms among the Galatians in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. 'As I gave order to the churches of Galatia, so do ye' (xvi. 1). Is there any trace of this in the Galatian Epistle? I think we may discover intimations there that the appeal had been made, and had not been warmly responded to. There is no direct allusion to this appeal. But in one passage (vi. 6—10) St Paul speaks in very strong terms of the duty of almsgiving: 'Be not deceived,' he says, 'God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap. . . . Let us do good unto all men,' &c. The admonition is thrown

into a general form, but it has evidently a special application in the Apostle's own mind. He is reproving the Galatians for their backwardness in this matter; but he wishes to give them further time, and therefore refrains from prejudging the case. I cannot think that his language here is at all consistent with the supposition that the bearer of this letter for the first time communicated the injunction mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. There is no assignable reason why he should omit to allude to it in his own letter, when dwelling on the subject of almsgiving. He could scarcely have avoided doing so under the circumstances. And the same may be said also of his mention of the desire expressed by the apostles of the circumcision, that though he was to work henceforth in a separate sphere from them, he would remember the poor—evidently the poor of Judæa (ii. 10). This would be a hint easily intelligible to the Galatians, supposing they had received the injunction previously; but it is not likely that if they had not hitherto been informed of his wishes, he would have passed over this favourable opportunity of introducing the subject, when it must have been uppermost in his mind, and have left it for his messenger to deliver orally.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

III.

The Nundines, and early times of the Julian Calendar.

MACROBIUS, *Saturnal.* i. 13, speaking of the old Roman year, relates, in his vague, uncritical way, that pains were taken to prevent a concurrence of the *nundinæ* with the *nones*, generally; alleging as the reason, that as, after the expulsion of the kings, there was still kept up a sort of commemoration of the good Servius Tullus on the *nones*, because he was known to have been born on one of them, it was feared that the people assembled at the *nundines* might be moved by fond recollections of that popular king to desire the restoration of the kingly government. To this strange and futile account he adds, that a concurrence of the *nundines* with new-year's day was also thought unlucky. He fancies that, in order to obviate such collisions, the insertion of

the 355th day was left to the discretion of the pontifices, only it must be so placed in *medio Terminaliorum* (= 23 Feb.) *vel mensis intercalaris*, as to stave off a concurrence of the nundines with the unfavourable day: *ut a suspecto die celebritatem averterent nundinarum*. For *vel* Ideler reads *et*; and certainly the usual, though not the invariable, place of the intercalary month of 22 or 23 days was between the Terminalia and the Regifugium (= 6 Kal. Mart.), or, as we should say, between the 23rd and 24th of February. Then, to make any sense of the passage, we must take the words *dummodo eum in medio terminaliorum et mensis intercalaris ita locarent ut . . . averterent*, to mean, that the day was to be inserted *only* for the purpose of avoiding the collisions in question, and that its place must always be between the Terminalia and the Calendæ Intercalares; therefore *only* in an intercalated year. It would make a better shew of sense if we might suppose Macrobius to have written, either, *in medio Term. et Regifugii vel mensis interc.*, or, *in medio Term. vel m. i. et Regifugii*: otherwise there would be no remedy provided for a year following one which had not received the intercalary month. If by *suspecto die* Macrobius means one particular day, *e.g.* new-year's day (= 1 Mar.), or the nones of some particular month, or possibly the Regifugium itself, the statement, thus improved, will be intelligible. But if he means it to include the nones of each and every month, the least reflexion might have shewn, that to keep the nundines clear of all the nones of twelve or thirteen months by the insertion of a single day was simply impossible. It is surprising, therefore, to find a clear-headed and cautious writer like IDELER, not only accepting the whole statement unquestioned, but assuming that, even after the Julian reform, a day was inserted now and then, out of rule, to be balanced by a subsequent omission of a day, "so often as the nundines would have come into collision *with the nones* or with new-year's day" (1 January), *Handb. der Chron.* II. 63. 133. 137. A playing fast and loose with the calendar reckoning, to the extent implied in Ideler's statement, at any time subsequent to the final establishment of the Julian year, is utterly incredible. For if the nones of every month were thus obnoxious, the supposed remedy would have to be applied once at least in each of 28 years of the 32 composing the nundinal cycle. To make this quite clear, let the cycle begin with a bissextile year in which the nundines

ould fall on 1 Jan., in which therefore the *nundinal letter* (n. l.)
r the year is A H, the first before, the other after, the bissex-
e day.

Year	Jan.	n. l.	Year	Jan.	n. l.
i b.	1	A H	xvii b.	5	E D
ii	3	C	xviii	7	G
iii	6	F	xix	2	B
iv	1	A	xx	5	E
v b.	4	D C	xxi b.	8	H G
vi	6	F	xxii	2	B
vii	1	A	xxiii	5	E
viii	4	D	xxiv	8	H
ix b.	7	G F	xxv b.	3	C B
x	1	A	xxvi	5	E
xi	4	D	xxvii	8	H
xii	7	G	xxviii	3	C
xiii b.	2	B A	xxix b.	6	F E
xiv	4	D	xxx	8	H
xv	7	G	xxxi	3	C
xvi	2	B	xxxii	6	F

xxxiii b. 1 A H, &c.

By considering the intervals between the nones of the several
onths, it will be seen that the only years of this period in
rich there would be no collision of nundines with nones are
e 3rd, 6th and 32nd (n. l. = F) and the 9th (n. l. = G F).
amely, if the nundines fell on the day of Jan. marked in the first
lumn of the following Table, there would be a coincidence
th the nones of the months specified in the second column for
common year, in the third for a bissextile.

Jan. 1	A ... August.....	Sept. Oct. A H
2	B ... March	Aug. B A
3	C ... December	March C B
4	D ... Feb. June. July ...	Feb. Dec. D C.
5	E ... Jan. Nov.....	Jan. June. July E D
6	F ... No concurrence ...	November F E
7	G ... April. May	No concurrence
8	H ... Sept. Oct.	Apr. May H G

In the 32 years, nundines and nones would come together no
ss than 48 times. And besides, the avoidance of the nones in

one month, unless the irregularity was rectified immediately, would entail a collision in some other month, which would need to be warded off in like manner. For instance, suppose that, in a common year with $n. 1 = A.$, to avoid the nones of August, a day was inserted in February or some other intermediate month, by which the $n. 1.$ after the insertion would become H : then, unless August for that year was reduced to 30 days, the *nundines* would fall on the nones of September and October. At this rate, the whole calendar reckoning would be kept in a state of perpetual oscillation, and whatever plan may be imagined to have been adopted for informing Romans throughout the Empire what months of each ensuing year were to be thus modified, we should never be able to say with certainty whether a given date recorded, for instance, on a monument, means that day or a day earlier or later. In short, in the absence of better testimony than that of Macrobius in his very lame account of the ante-Julian year the supposition, as it regards the nones, is utterly improbable¹.

For that part of the statement which relates to the concurrence with new-year's day, there is a testimony which it may be worth while to examine. "A case of this description occurred A. C. 714 = B. C. 40, when, as Dio Cassius relates, XLVIII. 33, a day was intercalated out of rule to prevent the *nundines* falling on the first day of the following year, a collision which of old had been carefully avoided. Subsequently, a day was struck out, that there might be no lasting disturbance of the Julian reckoning." Ideler, *u. s.* 63.

The reformed calendar started on its course on the 1st of January B. C. 45. If, as is usually supposed, its first year was bissextile, the subsequent bissextile years should have been 41, 37, 33, &c.; but on the supposition, which is equally probable, that it was meant to begin with three common years followed by a bissextile year, the leap-years should have been B. C. 42, 38,

¹ It may rest on a misunderstanding of some statement implying that the *nundinae* were anciently called *nonae*, but that in later times the term *nonae* was appropriated to a different use, so as not to be confused with the former. In Dr Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom.*

Antiq. s. v. CALENDARIUM it is said, but without specifying the authority, that in the year of Romulus "every eighth day under the name of *nonae* or *nundinae* was especially devoted to religious or other public purposes."

34 &c. Which of these was prescribed by the rule, we cannot say, Cæsar's edict unfortunately being lost. The rule itself, however, was transgressed from the first: the ignorant pontifices, understanding *quarto quoque anno* to mean a period of three years complete, intercalated the years 42, 39, 36, 33 &c. to B. C. 9 inclusive, when the error being discovered was rectified, and the Julian notation of time restored to its proper track, by omitting the bissextile day of B. C. 5, 1 and A. D. 4, *i. e.* of the 41st, 45th, and 49th Julian years. Now, since a period of three years including one bissextile contains 1096 days, which number is divisible by 8 without remainder, it follows, that so long as the erroneous intercalation lasted, the nundines would constantly fall on the same days at intervals of three years. If therefore they fell, or should have fallen, as Dio Cassius relates, on the 1st January of B. C. 39, they fell on the same day of B. C. 42, and would also fall, unless prevented, on 1 Jan. of B. C. 36, 33, 30 &c.: *i. e.* from B. C. 42 downwards, so long as the vicious intercalations lasted, and nothing was done to change the place of the nundines, the n. ll. would have constantly proceeded in the order A H, C, F; A H, C, F: &c. It follows also, that if the first Julian year B. C. 45 was intercalated, that year likewise began with the nundines on its 1st of January. But if we attach any importance to Dio's statement relative to the year 39 B. C., we can hardly deem it likely that the new calendar would be allowed to start with the very collision which, we are told, the Romans were of old solicitous to avoid. Nor did it, if the year B. C. 45 was not bissextile, *i. e.* if according to Cæsar's rule the bissextile years were to be the 4th, 8th, 12th &c. For in that case, if the nundines in B. C. 39 and 42 fell 1 Jan., the 1 Jan. of B. C. 45, being 1095 days earlier, would be the day after the nundines, *i. e.* the nundines would fall on the 8th of January.

There is a further circumstance, of an astronomical nature, which points to the same conclusion. There is reason to believe that the inducement for giving to U. C. 708 ("the year of confusion") the precise length of 445 days was, that the beginning of the new reckoning should be the day of new moon next after the winter solstice. Now the date of that new moon, in our technical and proleptic application of the Julian reckoning (*i. e.* in the uninterrupted continuation, upwards, of the Julian calendar, old style) is, about an hour and a half after midnight between 1 and

2 Jan. B. C. 45. But the day which we, in this reckoning, call 2 Jan. was by the Romans then living called 1 Jan., if the year was not actually bissextile. On this supposition, Cæsar's 1st of January of the new calendar did actually begin with the day and almost the precise hour of the new moon; and thus we may understand the meaning which lies under the vague statement of Macrobius: *Annum civilem Cæsar habitis ad lunam dimensionibus constitutum edicto palam proposito publicavit*. In short, the day which Cæsar chose to be the first of the new reckoning was at once the first day of the Roman eight-day week and of the lunar month. For comparison with the Egyptian calendar it possessed the further advantage of being the first day of Tybi (the 5th month), viz. of the year of Nabonassar 703¹.

¹ Few subjects, capable of an exact determination, have been more perplexed by unclear and misleading statements than that which relates to calendars and the measures and nomenclature of time. The following is an instance, the more to be regretted because occurring in a work of high authority, which will doubtless take its place in our schools and colleges as a leading textbook of Roman History. "Cæsar, himself not unacquainted with astronomy, called in the assistance of the Greek Sosigenes to rectify the present error and prevent error for the future. It was determined to make the 1st of January of the Roman year 709 A. U. C. coincide with the 1st of January of the solar year which we call 45 B. C. But it was calculated that this 1st of January of the year 709 A. U. C. would be 67 days in advance of the true time; or, in other words, would concur not with the 1st of January 45 B. C. but with the 22nd of October 46 B. C. And therefore &c. . . . Thus the past error was corrected, and the 1st of January 709 A. U. C. became the same with the 1st of January 45 B. C." Dr LIDDELL, *Hist. of Rome*, II. 470, 1. This account of the matter could only lead the learner to imagine—and this is the notion that lies at the root of the confusion which is so prevalent on this

subject—that "the 1st of January of the solar year which we call 45 B. C." had somehow a substantive existence independent of our upward continuation of the existing reckoning of time; or, in other words, that a certain day, n days before a given day of modern times, say before 1 Jan. of A. D. 1801, had in the nature of things a right to the name "first day of January" of such a year B. C.: that Cæsar and Sosigenes were able to put their finger on that day and to say, "This is the true time for the year to begin—namely, the day which lies 445 days after that which we called Calends of January in this present year 708 U. C." Nature prescribes no "true time" for the beginning of the solar year: how the days of the year shall be numbered and named is simply matter of conventional arrangement. In the year of Numa and the Decemvirs it was doubtless intended that the Calends of April and October, of July and January, should never travel very far from the cardinal points of the sun's annual course, the equinoxes and the solstices. The point for consideration with Cæsar and Sosigenes was, to which of the 365½ days which they assumed to be a sufficiently exact measure of the interval between two successive vernal equinoxes &c., they should assign the

We may also fairly urge, with Sanclemente, that the beginning of the new reckoning with a bissextile year is in itself improbable; the common years would naturally take precedence: though when this writer supposes that there was no intercalation until the Feb. of B.C. 41, this violates, at the very outset, the principle of the reckoning, which is, that every four successive years, wherever taken, should constantly number 1461 days.

name Calends of January. Conceiving Hipparchus's determination to be still in force, they held that the *bruma* of u.c. 708 fell on the 23rd of Chœak of the Egyptian year (*Æ. Nab.* 703): they might have set their 1st of January at that day; they chose to set it eight days later. By the combination in the text it has been attempted to explain the grounds of their choice, and the result is this. For the more convenient adjustment of the lunar cycle and its epacts, they chose for the beginning of the new year the day of new moon next after the *bruma*, which day possessed the farther twofold advantage of being the 1st day of the Roman nundine week, and also the 1st of the Egyptian month Tybi with which begins the second of the three seasons or quaternions of months into which the Egyptian year is divided. The advantages, in a technical point of view, of these coincidences were not to be overlooked. Cæsar, we know, had studied astronomy under Egyptian masters: *siderum motus, de quibus non indoctos libros reliquit, ab Egyptiis disciplinis hausit*, Macrob. Saturn. i. 16.

A further erroneous statement, which gives quite a wrong notion of the Ant-Julian year, will need to be corrected in future editions of Dr Liddell's valuable History. "It has been before stated (chap. i. § 17) that the Roman year had *hitherto*" to the time of Cæsar's reform "consisted of 355 days with a month of 30 days intercalated every third year, so that the average length of the year was 365 days." Even as a

description of the year of Numa this can hardly be allowed to pass. It was undoubtedly a lunar year, apparently with months of varying length because determined by actual observation of the new moon when first visible in the evening twilight, and roughly adjusted to the year of the seasons by occasional intercalation of a whole month. (*Ideler* II. 36 ff.). But it could not have regularly proceeded upon the plan 355, 355, 385, without very soon ceasing to be lunar, for 37 lunations are not 1095 but 1091 days and a fraction. As a description of the year which Julius Cæsar reformed it is altogether wrong. That (the year of the Decemvirs) is well known to have consisted of twelve months (not lunar), each of fixt length, numbering 355 days, brought into a loose correspondence with the solar year by intercalation, in alternate years, of a month (Mercedonius) of 22 and 23 days alternately. By this plan, every 4 years numbered 1465 days, 4 days too much: but subsequently, it seems, by ruling that every 24 years, instead of 6 intercalations of 22 and 6 of 23 days (= 270), should receive 7 of 22 and 4 of 23 (= 246 days), the excess was liquidated, as the 24 years would number $24 \times 355 + 246 = 8766$ days, making the average length of the year just 365 $\frac{1}{4}$. (*Ideler* u. s. 56 ff.). But the regulation of the calendar was in the hands of the pontifices, by whom it was administered so laxly, and even for party-purposes corruptly, that it fell into a state of dislocation unexampled in the history of any other civilized nation.

The most natural supposition is, that the first three years of the reckoning were common years, and the fourth bissextile: this we know was the rule of the Julianized Egyptian calendar, beginning at the 1 Thoth of B.C. 30, viz. three years of the ordinary length, and the fourth a year of 366 days, i. e. with a sixth epagomené at the end. In fact, Sanclemente, in common with other writers on the calendar, seems to have assumed that by the edict of Augustus the order of the Julian intercalation was restored in conformity with the intention of its author: i. e. that as, since the restoration, the bissextile year is the $4m + 1$ st Julian year, it was always intended to hold that place. I do not see that this is the necessary inference. The years marked for intercalation by the pontifices were the 4th, 7th, 10th, &c., and thus went on till the 37th = B.C. 9: Augustus may have made this last year the starting-point for future intercalations; or, independently of this, the year of his edict, B.C. 8, was made the first year of the quadriennial periods, only with the understanding that the first three bissextile days should be omitted. I suppose then that it was in conformity with Cæsar's rule that the pontifices intercalated the year 42 B.C. being the *fourth* Julian year. Then in their ignorance which, Julius Cæsar being dead, there was none to control, they held that as the first *bissextus* was ordered to be inserted when the calendar had been only three years in existence, the next must be three years later (*quarto quoque anno* in the more usual sense of the phrase), and so on perpetually.

A concurrence of the *nundines* with 1 Jan. had already taken place in the year 42 B.C. It would appear that the same would recur in 39 B.C. and in each subsequent bissextile year, viz. at intervals of 1096 days. It needed but little arithmetic to ascertain that fact: how was it to be obviated? Dio Cassius says, by irregular intercalation of the preceding year B.C. 40: of course in anticipation of the *bissextus* intended for the year 39. So the *nundines* would come in 39 to 8 Jan., 38 to 3 Jan., 37 to 6 Jan., and in 36 to 1 Jan. again, which year being bissextile the obnoxious concurrence would once more be in perpetual force. It must be obviated, then, by the same expedient, i. e. by making 37 bissextile instead of 36. In short, whereas the years intended by Cæsar to be intercalated were the 4th, 8th, 12th and, generally, the $4m$ th = B.C. 42, 38, 34 &c., the managers of the calendar mistakenly supposed them to be the 4th, 7th, 10th, 13th &c. i. e. B.C.

42, 39, 36, 33 &c.; but actually, after the first of these years, made them, on account of the nundinal difficulty, the 6th, 9th, 12th &c. i. e. B.C. (42,) 40, 37, 34, 31 &c.

If this be the true history of the earlier years of the Julian reckoning, it follows, that historical Roman dates derived from contemporary records between 1 Jan. B.C. 45 and 1 Mar. A.D. 4, will vary more or less from the technical dates obtained by continuing the calendar upwards without interruption from the latter date, at which, in any case, the *proleptic* Julian reckoning must be understood to begin. Ideler, II. p. 133, has marked the rules of this divergence, as it results from the usual account, in which the actually intercalated years are said to have been B.C. 45, 42, 39 &c. to B.C. 9 inclusive. On the view here put forward, the rule must be modified as follows :

From (historical)	1 Jan. 45	to 28 Feb. of same year	add 1.
From	..... 29 Feb. 42†	to 28 Feb. 41	add 1.
From	..... 29 Feb. 40†	to 28 Feb. 34†	add 1.
From	..... 29 Feb. 34†	to 28 Feb. 33	add 2.
From	..... 28 Feb. 33	to 28 Feb. 31†	add 1.
From	..... 29 Feb. 31†	to 27 Feb. 29	add 2.
From	..... 28 Feb. 29	to 28 Feb. 28†	add 1.
From	..... 29 Feb. 28†	to 28 Feb. 22†	add 2.
From	..... 29 Feb. 22†	to 28 Feb. 21	add 3.
From	..... 1 Mar. 21	to 28 Feb. 19†	add 2.
From	..... 29 Feb. 19†	to 28 Feb. 17	add 3.
From	..... 1 Mar. 17	to 28 Feb. 16†	add 2.
From	..... 29 Feb. 16†	to 28 Feb. 10†	add 3.
From	..... 29 Feb. 10†	to 28 Feb. 9	add 4.
From	..... 1 Mar. 9	to 28 Feb. 5	add 3.
From	..... 1 Mar. 5	to 28 Feb. 1	add 2.
From	..... 1 Mar. 1	to 28 Feb. A.D. 4	add 1.

The years marked † are the actual, the others the *proleptic* bissextiles.

For example, the battle of Actium was fought, according to Dio Cassius, on the 2nd September U. C. 723 = B. C. 31. The corresponding *proleptic* Julian date is 4 Sept.; on the usual view (Ideler's), 3 Sept. Again, there was an eclipse of the sun in B. C. 10 for which the astronomers give the *proleptic* Julian date 30th June. Should any contemporary record with the Julian date

hereafter be discovered, it should on my view be the 26th June, on Ideler's the 27th.

As for the *nundines*, these would fall on every three consecutive years beginning with the intercalated year, on the 6th, 8th and 3rd of January respectively, until B. C. 7, when they would run, so long as the intercalation was omitted, in a cycle of eight years, viz., 6th, 1st, 4th, 7th, 2nd, 5th, 8th and 3rd of January. Ideler holds the sequence of the *nundines* to have persisted as free from interruption as the seven-day week of the Hebrews and Christian nations. This, after the final establishment of the Julian Calendar, is extremely improbable. The *nundines* were for the city of Rome and its neighbourhood, the calendar for Romans all over the world. It is not easy to imagine that after the edict of Augustus any further tampering with the calendar would be tolerated; and if a collision with new-year's day or any other *suspectus dies* was to be obviated, this would be managed, not by an unsettling, however temporary, of the calendar, but by the simple expedient of *transposing the nundines*. And in fact, in the only instance of the kind (so far as I am aware) on record for that period, Dio Cass. LX. 24 relates under U. C. 797 = A. D. 44, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν θ' ἡμέρων μετέθεσαν, "*they transposed the nundines* on account of certain sacrifices" or religious solemnities. He adds that the like was done on many other occasions, καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις. Ideler, who thinks Dio Cass. must have mistaken the matter, because it can hardly be supposed that this was ever the case (II. 134 note), has not treated the subject of the *nundines* with his usual discretion.

Now let us suppose it to have been ruled, after the edict of Augustus, that the *nundines*, whenever they would have fallen, in the regular course, on the 1st of January, should be shifted either to 2 Jan. or to 31 Dec. and 8 Jan. (but constantly the same method, not sometimes one and sometimes the other). On the former method, supposing the transposition to take place in a bissextile year, by which the n. l. is changed from AH to BA, it will be seen by inspection of the *nundinal* cycle that it will take twenty years to bring the *nundines* again to 1 Jan. (year xiii. to xxxiii.): supposing it to take place in the first, second or third year after bissextile (n. l. changed from A to B), eleven, fourteen and seventeen years respectively will lead to a concurrence with 1 Jan. in a bissextile year (years xxii, xix, and

xvi. to xxxiii.). On the other plan, i. e. the nundines anticipated, by which in bissext., 1st, 2nd, and 3rd after bissext., the n. l. would change from AH to HG, and from A to H, the periods which will bring it again to AH are twelve, three, six, nine years respectively (years xxi, xxx, xxvii, and xxiv to xxxiii.) Assuming both methods to have been considered, the former would in all probability be preferred because of the longer period. Thus, as the first return of the nundines to 1 Jan. would be in B. C. 6, after transposition to 2 Jan. they would again fall on 1 Jan. in B. C. 1, as there was no bissextile year in the interval; and, the process being repeated, again in A. D. 5; from which year eleven years would lead to the next concurrence A. D. 16 biss., and thenceforth the transposition at regular intervals of twenty years would be all that was needed, so long as there was no interference on other grounds.

According to Dio Cassius, it was on other grounds that the transposition was made in A. D. 44. Claudius, we know, was a precisian in matters of ceremony: *quædam circa cærimonias... domi forisque aut correxit aut exoleta revocavit aut etiam nova instituit*, Sueton. Claud. 22; and his ordering the nundines to be shifted *λεπὸν τιμὸν ἐνεκα* may have been on one of the occasions mentioned by this author: *observavitque sedulo ut quoties terra in urbe novisset, ferias advocata concione prætor indiceret: utque dira avi in urbe aut in capitolio visa, obsecratio haberetur, eamque ipse jure Max. Pont. commonito pro rostris populo præiret, submota operarum servorumque turba*. For at this time the nundinæ were *fasti* for both orders of the people, and it is quite conceivable that, to prevent the interruption of public business, they might on such an occasion be anticipated or postponed one day. But when once the method of periodical adjustment, as above explained, had come into operation, it is not likely that these occasional interruptions (which Dio intimates were not infrequent) would be allowed to throw the cycle out of its proper order. From the nundines before to those after the irregular day the interval, I should suppose, would be still sixteen days, so that the n. l. for the year would mark the stated days after as before the interruption.

HENRY BROWNE.

*Adversaria.*I. *The Roman Capitol.**To the Editor of the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology.*

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1856.

SIR,

THE question of the true site of the Roman Capitol cannot but be interesting to every scholar, and I have therefore ventured to appeal to your excellent Journal, the only tribunal before which such a question can be brought, respecting a judgment on the subject delivered in the recent number of the Quarterly Review.

The writer of the article alluded to, who has done me the honour to notice my account of Rome, published in Dr Smith's Dictionary of Ancient Geography, in terms far more flattering than it deserves, rests the whole issue of this much disputed point on the interpretation of the description in Tacitus of the storming of the Capitol by the Vitellians (Hist. III. 71). The subject is thus reduced to a very narrow compass; and as the Reviewer speaks "in the interest of Tacitus himself,"—to whom, it would seem, I have done some grievous wrong,—I trust I may be permitted to make the few following remarks.

I must confess my surprise to find that a gentleman who insists so much on the "cautious and solid character of English scholarship," and who is "unwilling that any cloud of ambiguity should lie" on the decisive passage which he has selected, should have defaced it by two mistranslations; and those, unluckily, in the very clauses on which the whole of the point in dispute depends.

1. The words, "erigunt aciem per adversum collem usque ad primas Capitulinæ arcis fores," are rendered, "they charge up the hill to the foot of the gates of the Capitoline fortress;" instead of, "to the first gates of the Capitoline fortress," or rather "citadel."

2. The clause—"faces in prominentem porticum jecere, et sequebantur ignem; ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora majorum, in ipso aditu,

vice muri, objecisset," is translated: "So they threw torches into the projecting portico and followed the course of the fire. *They would have burnt* the gates of the Capitol, and burst in, had not Sabinus flung a number of statues, the monuments of our ancestors, before them, and so blocked up the approach as with a wall:" instead of "They would have burst in through the burnt gates," &c.

Every Latin scholar will see that these versions are contrary to grammar and the true meaning of words; and I think it may also be shewn that they are no less repugnant to common sense. The statues were not employed to stop the fire, but to stop the men who were following the fire. If the gates had not been burnt, the statues would not have been needed, as the gates would have sufficed of themselves to keep out the assailants. In Comment No. 4 on this passage, the Reviewer remarks (p. 425): "The Capitol would of course abound with statues; but we should not expect a bare fortification like the ancient Arx (if it is of the Arx proper that Tacitus is speaking) to furnish such precious materials for a hasty defence." A strange remark from a gentleman who has evidently paid some attention to the subject. The Arx was not "a bare fortification," but contained several temples, besides the celebrated one of Juno Moneta; and further, it is notorious that the whole summit of the hill abounded with statues. Indeed, Tacitus himself says, that those used on the occasion were "*undique conquisitas*"—brought together from all sides.

The mistranslation of the words "*primas fores*" is still more important. The Reviewer renders them, as I have said, by "the foot of the gates;" but in Comment No. 5 they become "*the front gates*;" whence he appears to suppose that the temple had back gates or side gates. But, even had this been the case, what should have prevented the besiegers from immediately attacking them after being repulsed from the front gates? Being already at the temple, why should they have taken the trouble to descend the hill in order to mount it again by climbing the hundred steps, setting fire to houses, &c. and thus to arrive at the same point as they had just quitted? Their proceedings, as explained by the Reviewer, may be illustrated as follows: A body of men rush up Ludgate Hill to capture St Paul's cathedral; they are prevented from entering the west gate by some statues

being flung before it; whereupon instead of proceeding at once to the north gate, they retrace their steps down Ludgate Hill; some of them, turning to the left, make their way up by Bennet's Hill to the spot which they had just quitted; others, turning to the right, arrive again at the cathedral by burning down Pater-noster Row! The only way in which such a retreat could be explained on any rational principle is, that they were repulsed by a barrier at the top of Ludgate Hill before they reached the cathedral. A similar obstacle at the top of the Clivus Capitolinus I take to be the "primæ fores" described by Tacitus as having been burnt, and replaced by the statues.

These strange notions of the Reviewer's are illustrated by a plan equally strange. The temple, allowing it to have been on the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill, is wrenched 45 degrees from its true position, it being universally agreed that it faced the south, as fairly represented in Becker's plan. The Reviewer makes it face the south-east, in order that, like Mahomet's miracle, the temple may come to the fire, as the fire will not come to the temple. It is hardly necessary to observe upon other incongruities in the plan, such as the want of an area before the temple, and the position of the *Lucus* and *Clivus Asyli*, the latter being made to lead up to the Capitol instead of to the Asylum! The ruin of the three columns is still designated as the temple of Saturn, though that view is, I believe, now almost universally abandoned even by the Germans.

In a note at p. 426, the Reviewer says that in one of my subsidiary arguments I have given an interpretation "grammatically inadmissible" of Ovid's line, "*Qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus*;" though, on his own shewing, the passage is not amenable to any laws of grammar. He sees no obscurity in the line, and illustrates it by a passage from Virgil which bears not the slightest resemblance to it, except that *ferre* occurs in both. However, if I have erred, I have in this case erred with Becker (*Handb.* p. 393), who also takes Ovid's words to mean that the temple lay at the top of a flight of steps; though he supposes that these steps led from the temple of Concord, at the top of the Forum, to that of Juno Moneta on the (his) *Arx*; a view which I have endeavoured to prove inadmissible.

The preceding remarks will perhaps suffice to shew that this passage of Tacitus is not, as the Reviewer thinks, decisive in

favour of his own view; though, on the other hand, I have not pretended to assert that it settles the question the other way. I have not "clapped my hands and cried Eureka!" I have merely ventured to say (p. 767) that, on a review of *the whole evidence*, the balance of probability appears to me to incline in favour of the Capitol having been on the northern summit.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours very respectfully,

THOS. H. DYER.

II. *Novarum lectionum et emendationum Specimen.*

(Concluded from Vol. II. page 219.)

De Corona, p. 253, in. Ὁ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας, ἀλλ' οὐ σύ γε, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δ' οὐδέποτε' εἰ μὴ σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν, ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. Abjunctis μὲν ἔχων legendum ἀλλ' αἰ βοᾷς.

Ib. p. 246, fin. Πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ἐβουλευσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες. Ex ΤΩΝΔΕΞΙΩΤΑΤΑ librarius legit ἐνδοξότατα.

Ib. p. 325, in. Οὐδ' ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα—ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυάνῃ, ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, κ.τ.έ. Junge ΩΠΕ-ΡΑΝΕΙ et lege ὥσπερανεὶ τρυάνῃ.

Ib. p. 522, fin. Midianæ. Πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων τοῦτω τῇ λόγῃ προσέχειν ὑμᾶς δεῖ, καὶ μνημονεύσαι τοῦτον καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀπαντᾶν ὅταν οὗτος λέγῃ. Ex ΟΤΑΝ corrige ΟΤΙΑΝ.

Ib. p. 597, Orat. contra Androt. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν κατέστησαν αἴτιοι ὧν οὐδ' ὁ χρόνος τὴν μνήμην ἀφελέσθαι δύναται. Pro ΟΥΔΕΟ lege ΟΥΔΕΙΟ.

Æschines contra Tim. p. 22, c. 158. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὁμοτρόπων τῶν Τιμάρχου φεύγων τὰς ἀπεχθείας, ὧν ἡκιστὰ μοι μέλει, μνησθήσομαι. Librarius neglexit ου post ΧΟΥ nam sensus postulat οὐ φεύγων.

Adv. Ctesiph. p. 67, c. 94. Ὡστε τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ὁρώντων, φρουρούντων, βλέπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, κ.τ.έ. Ex ΤΑΟΡΟΝΤΩΝ fac ΠΑΡΟΝΤΩΝ.

Ib. p. 83, c. 203. Ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγορήκα; οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τὸν Δημ. πρότερον διεξήλθον—ἄφθονα δήπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν, ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἶην ἀπορώτατος—ἀλλὰ κ.τ.έ. Pro ΑΠΟΡΩΤΑΤΟΣ l. ΑΤΟΠΩΤΑΤΟΣ.

Isocrates. (Cf. Ed. Imm. Bekkeri. Oxoni, 1822, T. II.)

p. 43 a Panegyrici. Καὶ τοσοῦτον διημαρτήκασιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν πεπονημένους (nempe λόγους) πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων σκοποῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὁμοίως δέον ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς δ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς κ.τ.έ. Pro ACΦΑΛΩC lege AΦΕΛΩC.

Ib. p. 104 e Philippi. Παύσας ταῦτα καὶ—ὑπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις μεθ' ὧν χρῆ καὶ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ τοὺς πολέμους ἐκφέρειν. Valckenaerius pro ΔΕΙ emendat ΑΕΙ quod in viri cl. MSS. legimus.

Ib. p. 142 c Areopagitici. Οὐδένα χρόνον τὰς εὐτυχίας κατασχεῖν ἡδυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως διεσκαριφησάμεθα—αὐτάς. Cod. Laurent. T, cuius recogniti lectiones amicus C. G. Cobet mihi dedit utendas, hic recte habet ἀλλ' εὐθέως δ. κ.τ.έ.

Ib. p. 234 d Panathenaici. Καὶ τὴν τύχην ὠδυνάμην—ὅτι περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἦν προειδόμενη, ἀτυχίαι τινές μοι καὶ συκοφανταί γεγόνασι κ.τ.έ. Pro ΑΤΥΧΙΑΙ l. ΑΙΤΙΑΙ.

Ib. p. 275^c. Τοῦτο δὲ ῥηθὲν οὕτω βραχὺ καὶ μικρὸν αἷτιον ἐγένετο κ.τ.έ. Requiritur τραχὺ καὶ πικρόν.

Orat. de Antid. p. 294, s. 19. Ταῦτα δὲ—ψυχῆς ἀνδρικῆς καὶ δοξαστικῆς ἔργον εἶναι. Pro ΔΟΞΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ l. ΣΤΟΧΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ.

Ib. s. 297. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀληθεατέρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ διακειμένων λεγομένους ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διαβεβλημένων. Librarius male εὖ διακειμ. legit pro εὐδοκιμούντων.

Æschyli Prometheus Vincetus, v. 144,—

Λεύσσω, Προμηθεῦ, φοβερά δ' ἐμοῖσιν ὄσσοις
ὁμίχλη προσῆξε πλήρης
δακρύων κ.τ.έ.

Pro ΦΟΒΕΡΑ l. ΑΝΟΦΕΡΑ.

Ib. vi. 226,—

ὁ δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾷτ' αἰτίαν καθ' ἣντινα
αἰκίζεται με, τοῦτο δὴ σαφηνῶ.
ὅπως τάχιστα τὸν πατρῶν ἐς θρόνον
καθίστη, εὐθὺς δαίμοσιν νέμει γέρα κ.τ.έ.

Pro ΟΠΩC l. ΕΠΕΙ.

Persarum vi. 752,—

Ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται
θούριος Ξέρξης κ.τ.έ.

Pro τοῖς l. τοι.

Lucianus, (Cf. Editio Caroli Jacobitz.) T. π. p. 174. Libri qui inscrib. Ἀποκηρυττόμενος. Ὅταν γοῦν πολλάκις ποιήσωμεν ἤδη πλησίον ἐνέσθαι τοῦ τέλους, καὶ ἐλπίσωμεν, ἔμπεσόν τι μικρὸν ἀμάρτημα,—ἅπαντα κέτρεψε κ.τ.έ. pro ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ l. ΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ.

T. ιιι. p. 271, fin. Libri qui inscr. Navigium seu Vota,—

Σαμ. Ἔτι γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν—εἶναι δοκεῖς κ.τ.έ.

Λυκ. Ὑπέμνησας· ἐγὼ δὲ νήφειν ᾤμην καὶ σὺ παρὰ τὸ φανεῖσθαι τὴν γνώμην.

Ex KAICYΠAΡATOΦANETICΘAI l. καὶ ὕπαρ ἀποφαίνεσθαι.

Ib. p. 548, fin. Cynici. Εἰ μὲν δεῖ ἐνὸς ἰδίου σχήματος τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἰ πρέπει αὖ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἀναιδέστατον τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐστὶ, καὶ ὅπερ πεύξαιν' αὖ οὗτοι μάλιστα ἔχειν; Pro ANAIA. legendum AHA. ἀηδέσ-
ατον.

Mediæ Comœdiæ poetarum fragmenta. (Vide Edit. Aug. Meineke, Berolini, 1841).

Antiphanis ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ.

Τῶν ταῶν μὲν ὡς ἅπαξ τις ζεύγον ἤγαγεν μόνον,
σπάνιον δὲ τὸ χρῆμα πλείους εἰσι νῦν τῶν ὀρτύγων,

Ejusdem ΤΝΩΜΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΣΤΙΧΟΙ,

167. Εὐκαταφρόνητός ἐστι σιγηρὸς τρόπος.

Legendum ΟΥ pro ΕΥ.

431. Οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς δεδυστυχηκόσι.

Ex unciali scriptura ΟΥΔΕΙΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΕΙΝ lege una littera
nutata

Οὐ δεῖ σ' ἐπιχαίρειν τοῖς δεδυστυχηκόσι.

Diphili ΦΡΕΑΡ,

Πολὺς τεχνίτης ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος, ὃ ξένη,
χαίρει μεταπλάττων πάντας ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρονα.

Pro ΟΛΙΟC lege ΦΑΥΛΟC; cur librarii in primis litteris errave-
int, causa nota.

Epinici ΥΠΟΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΑΙ.

B. ἐλέφαντα περιάγει; A. ῥυτὸν
χωροῦν δύο χάσας· οὐδ' αὖ ἐλέφας ἐκπίοι·
ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο γ' ἐκπέπωκα πολλάκις.

B. οὐδὲν ἐλέφαντος γὰρ διαφέρεις οὐδὲ σὺ.

Pro ΟΥΔΕCΥ lege ΟΥΔΕΓΡΥ, cf. Menandri Ὀργή,—διαφέρει Χαιρε-
ρῶντας οὐδὲ γρῦ.

Posidippi ANABΛEΠΩΝ.

Ἐγὼ μάγειρον λαμβάνων ἀκήκοα
 τὰ τῶν μαγείρων πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον κακά.
 ἀντερρολαβοῦντες ἔλεγον, ὁ μὲν ὥς οὐκ ἔχοι
 ῥίνα κριτικὴν πρὸς τοῦτον, ὁ δ' ὅτι στόμα
 πονηρὸν κ. τ. ἐ.

Pro ΕΓΩ Ι. ΕΝΕΓΩ; pro ΠΑΝΤΑΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ Ι. ΠΑΝΘΑΚΑΘΕΚΑΣ-
 ΤΟΝ; sic igitur distinguendum,

Ἐν' ἐγὼ μάγειρον λαμβάνων ἀκήκοα
 τὰ τῶν μαγείρων πάνθ' ἃ καθ' ἑκάστου κακά, κ. τ. ἐ.

Theogneti ΦΑΣΜΑ.

Ἀνέστροφέν σου τὸν βίον τὰ βιβλία.

L. ἀνατέτροφεν pro ἀνέστροφεν.

Fragmentum Comicorum anonym. XLIX.

Δέσποιν' ἀπασῶν, πότνι' Ἀθηναίων πόλις,
 ὥς καλὸν σοῦ φαίνεται τὸ νεώριον,
 ὥς καλὸς ὁ Παρθενῶν, κ. τ. ἐ.

In libris legebatur Δέσποινα δ' ἀπασῶν πόλει, πότνι' Ἀθ. πόλις κ. τ. ἐ.

χρηστὸν ἄνθρωπον δ' ἐάν τις ἕνα μόνον ζητῶν ἴδῃ,
 ὄψεται ἐκ τούτου πονηροὺς πέντε παῖδας γεγονότας.

Ex ΗΓΑΓΕΝΜΟΝΟΝ Ι. ἤγαγ' ἐν μόνον.

Eubuli ΙΩΝ,—

Μετὰ ταῦτα θύνων μεγαλόπλουτ' ἐπείσέπλει
 ὑπογάστρι' ὀπτῶν, αἵτε λιμνοσώματοι
 Βοιώται παρήσαν ἐγγέλεις θεαὶ κ. τ. ἐ.

Pro ΔΙΜΝΟ Ι. ΔΙΠΑΡΟ.

Nicostrati ANTΥΛΛΟC,—

Ἄλλ' ἐπριάμην παρ' ἀνδρὸς, ὃ γῇ καὶ θεοῖ,
 ταριχοπώλου πάνυ καλοῦ τε κάγαθοῦ
 τιλτὸν μέγιστον ἄξιον δραχμῆς, δυοῖν
 ὀβολοῖν, ὃν οὐκ ἂν καταφάγοιμεν ἡμερῶν
 τριῶν ἤδη κατεσθίοντες δώδεκα.

vs. 3 lege ita,—

τριῶν κατεσθίοντες ὄντες δώδεκα.

nam post ONTEC τοῦ κατεσθίοντες librarius alterum ὄντες omiserat.

Alexidis ΜΑΝΤΕΙΣ,

Ὡς δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς ὅσοι πεπρακότες
τὴν τοῦ βίου παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν
γυναιξὶ δοῦλοι ζῶμεν ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων, κ.τ.έ.

Legitur in codd. Ὡς δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς πεπρ. sed post ΗΜΕΙC omiserat librarius ΟCΟΙ.

Fabul. incert. XIII.—

Ὡς ἔστι κατακεῖσθαι πρὸ δείπνου συμφορά·
οὔτε γὰρ ὕπνος δῆπουθεν οὐδέν' ἂν λάβοι κ.τ.έ.

Lege ὅση ὅστι.

Diodori Fabul. inc.

Λιτὸς γενόμενος τοῖς ἔχουσι μὴ φθάνει·

Ex ΑΙΤΟCΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟC fac ΑΥΤΟCΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟC.

Menandri ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΟC,

Τὸ γὰρ προθύμως μὴ πονήσαντ' εὐτυχεῖν
εὐδαιμονίας εἴωθ' ὑπερηφανίας ποιεῖν.

Legendum,

Τὸ γὰρ προθύμως μὴ πονήσαντας τυχεῖν
εὐδαιμονίας, εἴωθ' ὑπερηφάνους ποιεῖν.

Nobis comparantibus τὸ δέσποτ' ἀναξ, poeta dedisse videtur,

Δέσποιν' ἀνασσα, πότνι' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

Plutarchi Scripta Moralia (cf. Ed. Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1842).

De Educatione Puerorum, p. 3, C. cap. IV. Μεγάλη τοι ῥοπή πρὸς ἀρετῆς κύησιν ἔστιν ἄνδρες, ἔφησε, Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἔθη καὶ παιδεῖαι κ.τ.έ.
Pro ΚΥΗCIN l. ΚΤΗCIN.

De audiendis poetis, p. 15, F. c. I. Μήδ' ἡμεῖς οὖν τὴν ποιητικὴν μερίδα τῶν Μουσῶν ἐκκόπτωμεν—ἀλλ' ὅπου μὲν—ἐξυβρίζει—πιέζωμεν· ὅπου δ' ἄπτεται τινος μούσης τῇ χάριτι καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀγωγὸν οὐκ ἄκαρπὸν ἔστιν οὐδὲ κενόν, ἐνταῦθα φιλοσοφίαν εἰσάγωμεν κ.τ.έ. Pro ΤΙΝΟCΜΟΥCΗC lege ΤΙΝΟCCΠΟΥΔΗC.

Ib. p. 17, B.

Τὸ δέ—καὶ τὸ

θεὸς μὲν αἰτίαν φέει βροτοῖς

ὅταν κακῶσαι δῶμα παμπήδην θέλῃ,

ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη κατὰ δόξαν εἴρηται καὶ πίστιν αὐτῶν, ἣν ἔχουσιν ἀπάτην περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἄγνοιαν, εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκφερόντων. Pro ΤΑΥΤΑΔΕΗΔΗ l. ΤΑΥΤΑΔΗΛΑΔΗ.

Ib. p. 32, E. c. xii. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μέλιττα φυσικῶς ἐν τοῖς δρυμντάτοις ἄνθεσι—ἐξαπνεύρισκε τοὺς λευκώτατον μέλι καὶ χρηστικώτατον κ.τ.έ. Legendum τὸ γλυκύτατον.

De Audiendo, C. xiii. p. 44, F. Ὅπου γὰρ ἐμέτου τινὲς ἐγκώμια καὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ νῆ Δία χύτρας ἐπιδεικνύμενοι πιθανότητος οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσιν ἥπου λόγος ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἄλλως γέ πως δοκούντος ἢ καλουμένου φιλοσόφου περαινόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ὀλως ἀναπνοὴν τινα—παράσχοι πρὸς ἔπαινον. PRO ΑΛΛΩΣΤΕΠΩΣ Ι. ΑΜΩΣΤΕΠΩΣ.

De Adulatore et Amico, p. 53 C. c. ix. Ὁ μὲν ἀληθὴς φίλος οὐτε μμηγῆς ἐστὶ πάντων—ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀρίστων μόνων—ἂν μὴ τις οἶον ὀφθαλμῶς ἀπορροῇ—ἄκοιτα—ἀναπλήρη φαυλότητος.—Τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ λανθάνουσιν ἐπὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βίων ἀναλαμβάνοντες. Legendum τὰ γὰρ φαῦλα.

Ib. c. ix. p. 55 E. Ὁ δὲ κολαξ—μόνῃ παρέπεται τῷ βουλομένῳ, συνάδων αἰεὶ καὶ συμφθεγγόμενος. Repone τῷ κολακενομένῳ pro τῷ βουλομένῳ.

De Amicorum Multitudine, C. vi. p. 96 E. Ὡςπερ οὖν ὁ Βριάρεως ἑκατὸν χερσὶν εἰς πεντήκοντα φορῶν γαστέρας, οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πλέον εἶχε τῶν ἀπὸ δυοῖν χερσὶν μίαν κοιλίαν διοικούντων—οὕτως ἐν τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ λειτουργεῖν πολλοῖς ἐνεστί, καὶ τὸ συναγωνιᾶν καὶ τὸ συνασχολεῖσθαι καὶ συγκάμνειν. Restituendum, οὕτω ἐν τῷ πολλοῖς φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ λειτουργεῖν κ.τ.έ.

Consolatio ad Apollonium, c. ii. p. 102, B. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ χρόνος—ἐγγέγονε·τῇ συμφορᾷ—καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον, τῶν παραμυθητικῶν σοι μεταδοῦναι λόγων πρὸς ἄνεσιν τῆς λύπης καὶ παῦλαν τῶν πενθικῶν καὶ ματαίων ὀδυρμῶν. PRO ΠΕΝΘΙΚΩΝ Ι. ΕΥΗΘΩΝ.

Sapientum Convivium, c. xiv. p. 157, B. Ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὀρεῖς—καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς νῦν μὲν εἰς μικρὰ κομιδῇ συστέλλοντας ἑαυτοὺς,—νῦν δὲ, εἰ μὴ τὰ πάντων ἔχουσιν ἰδιωτῶν ἅμα καὶ βασιλέων ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀπολείσθαι νομίζοντας; PRO ΜΙΚΡΟΥΣ Ι. ΜΩΡΟΥΣ.

Apophthegmata Laconica, p. 208, E. c. ix. Ἄλλοτ' ἰδὼν μὲν ἐλκόμενον ἐκ θυρίδος ὑπὸ παιδαρίου—ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔδακε τὴν χεῖρα κ.τ.έ. Videtur primum ΟΥΡΑC abiisse in ΘΥΡΑC, dein magis corrupta vox.

De Iside et Osiride, p. 366, A. c. xxxviii. Ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροῇν οὕτως Ἰσίδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἥς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων κ.τ.έ. PRO ΕΧΟΥΣΙ Ι. ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ.

De Ei apud Delphos, c. v. p. 386. Ἔστι γὰρ (nempe τὸ εἶ), ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσι Δελφοί, καὶ τότε προηγοῶν ἔλεγε Νικάνδρος ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὄχημα καὶ μορφὴ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐντεύξεως καὶ τάξιν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν ἔχει. Pro ΙΕΡΕΥΣΟΧΗΜΑ legendum ΙΕΡΕΥΣΣΟΧΗΜΑ.

De sera Numinis Vindicta, c. x. p. 555, A. Καὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων καὶ φάσματα μεθημερινά, καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ καταβασαίαι καὶ ὁ τι δόξαν ἔσχεν αἰτία θεοῦ περαίνεσθαι, χεῖμῶνας ἐπάγει καὶ φόβους τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις. Pro ΧΕΙΜΩΝΑΣ legendum esse ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ sensus docet.

An Seni sit gerenda Respublica, c. vi. p. 786, E. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρις εὐμενῆς ἢ μαρτυροῦσα τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ συναμιλλώμενος Ἰπαινος—οἶδν τι φῶς καὶ γάνωμα τῷ χαίροντι τῆς ἀρετῆς προστίθῃσι κ.τ.ε. Pro ΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΣΑ legendum ΟΜΑΡΤΟΥΣΑ.

De vitando Ære alieno, c. iii. p. 828, D. Ὡς γὰρ ἡ Πυθία τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις—τείχος ξύλινον δίδουσι τὸν θεὸν ἔφη—οὕτως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι ξύλινην τράπεζαν καὶ κεραμεῶν λεκάνην καὶ τραχὺ ἱμάτιον, ἐὰν ἐλεύθεροι ζῇν ἐθέλωμεν. Pro ΤΡΑΧΥ Ι. ΠΑΧΥ.

De Esu Carnium, I. c. v. p. 995, A. Οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔοικε τὸ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τῶν ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίᾳ γεγνότων, οὐ γρυνότης χεῖλους,—οὐ κοιλίας εὐτονία καὶ πνεύματος θερμότης, τρέψαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι δυνατὴ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ κρεῶδες. Pro ΤΡΕΨΑΙ Ι. ΠΕΨΑΙ.

Ib. c. vi. p. 995, E.—τὸν ἥλιον δι' αἰέρος ὑγροῦ καὶ πλήθους ἀναθυμιάσεων ἀπέπτυν ἀθρίσαντες, οὐ καθαρὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρὸν ἀλλὰ βύθιον καὶ ἀχλυώδη καὶ ὀλισθάνοντα ταῖς αὐγαῖς ὀρώμεν. Pro ἀλλὰ βύθιον Ι. ἀλλ' ἀμυδρόν.

Ib. c. ii. p. 997, F. Σκόπει δὲ ἡμᾶς πότεροι βέλτιον ἐξημεροῦσι τῶν φιλοσόφων, οἱ καὶ τέκνα—ἐσθιὲν κελεύοντες—ἢ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ἐθίζοντες εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀλλὰ γένη δίκαιους; Legendum καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα δίκαιους.

Symposiacæ Quæstiones, L. I. Q. v. c. 2. Οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες ἐν τῷ πάθει τούτῳ γενόμενοι, τὴν φωνὴν μόνην εἰς τὸ ᾄδειν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι μέγα καὶ μέλη προίενται. Pro ΜΕΤΑ Ι. ΜΕΤΡΑ.

Ib L. III. Q. v. c. 2, p. 652, E. l. 19. Ὡς γὰρ ἔοικε, μάλιστα δ' ὥς, εἰρήκαμεν, εἰοικασί τοῖς πρεσβύταις οἱ μεθύοντες· διὸ καὶ πρωϊαίτατα γηρῶσιν οἱ φίλοινοι κ.τ.ε. Pro οἱ μεθύοντες Ι. οἱ νέοι μεθύοντες.

Ib. L. IV. Q. v. c. 2, p. 670, A. l. 8. εἰ δὲ δύσμορφον ἢ ὕς καὶ θολερὸν (ἀλλ' οὐ) κανθάρου τὴν ὄψιν ἀτοπώτερον ἢ τὴν φύσιν ἀμουσώτερον. Pro ΑΜΟΥΣΟΤΕΡΟΝ Ι. ΜΥΣΑΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ.

Ib. l. 10. Τὴν δὲ ἐν ἀποχρηστέῃ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν· πρώτη γὰρ σχίσασα τῷ προῦχοντι τῆς ὀρυχῆς, ὥς φασί, τὴν γῆν, ἔχνος ἀρόσεως ἔθηκε

κ.τ.έ. Recte emendatum ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας pro ἀποχρησθήσαι, tum dele και et pro τῆς ὀρυχῆς l. τοῦ ῥύγχους.

Ib. c. 3, F. l. 5. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ χροά και τὰ ᾄτα και τῶν ὀμμάτων λιπαρότης και τὸ ἀλμυρὸν ζοικε θαυμασίως. Scaligerus λαμυρὸν pro ἀλμυρὸν.

Ib. Q. vi. c. 2, p. 672, B. l. 52. Οἱ μὴ ποιοῦντες οἶνον μελίτειον πίνουσιν, ὑποφαρμάσσοντες τὴν γλυκύτητα οἰνώδεσι ρίζαις και αὐστηραῖς. Pro ΟΙΝΩΔΕCΙ l. ΟΠΩΔΕCΙ. Cff. seqq.

Ib. L. VI. Q. x. p. 696, F. Τὴν δὲ πλείστην αἰτίαν—ἡ δριμύτης εἶχε τὸ γὰρ φυτὸν ἀπάντων ὀπωδέστατον, ὥστε και τὸ σύκον αὐτὸ και τὸ ξύλον και τὸ ἔρνος ἀναπεπλῆσθαι κ.τ.έ. Gatakerus pro ΕΡΝΟC l. ΘΡΙΟΝ.

Ib. L. VIII. Q. ix. c. 2, p. 732, A. l. 35. Οἱ δὲ και τὰ νοσήματα τὴν φύσιν, ὥσπερ τέρατα γεννᾶν ἀξιοῦσι,—τὸ ἄγαν και τὸ μᾶλλον ἐνίων παθῶν καινότητα και διαφορὰν ἀποφαίνοντες κ.τ.έ. Pro ΚΑΙΤΑ l. ΚΑΙΝΑ.

De Mulierum Virtutibus, p. 248, C. οἱ δ' ὅλως τὴν λεγομένην Χίμαιραν ὄρος ἀντήλιον γενομένην φασί, και ποιεῖν ἀνακλάσεις και ἀνακαύσεις ἐν τῷ ὄρει χαλεπὰς και πυρῶδεις, ὑφ' ὧν μαραίνεισθαι τοὺς καρπούς. Valcken. ΘΕΡΕΙ pro ΟΡΕΙ. Pro ΧΑΛΕΠΑC legendum censeo ΑΛΕCΙΝΑ.¹

III. *Admodum in Salvianus.*

FEW of the old editors have done so much to clear up the grammatical and historical difficulties of their author, as Rittershusius has in his edition of Salvianus. Yet Barth seems to be justified in disputing his interpretation of *admodum*. (*Adversar.* lib. 29, c. 3). "Legitur in editione ultima amici olim nostri C. Rittershusii pagina 1. *Omnes admodum homines &c.* τὸ *admodum* eleganter, non pro *fere* ut putavit interpres doctissimus, sed vi quadam suavi intendendi, pluribus locis Salviano positum. Ita hoc loco *ad unum omnes* non tamen violenta quadam vi, sonat; cum neminem scriptorum exceptum velit... Sic Cassianus lib. 1 de Incarn. ad omnes *admodum* Galliae civitates flebiles confessionis suae litteras dedit. Videtur capienda vocula ut sonat, justo quodam modo omnes."

In the passages cited below only one will occasion any difficulty, if we accept this translation (Cf. Hand, *Tursell.* i. 175), I

¹ Ex magna emendationum copia, quae in variis opusculis a nobis editae sunt, quasdam selegi, quae palaeographica ratione aut leni mutatione com-

mendantur; id egi, reputans quantam ipse utilitatem saepe perceperim ex brevi conspectu hujusmodi emendationum.

mean the last citation under the first head (*Lib. ii. p. 39*). It cannot be denied that there is an extravagance in the antithesis: "While all David's subjects to a man were in pursuit, a very small remnant only shared the flight of their king." Still it is easier to pardon such an extravagance in a rhetorical writer, than to assign a restrictive meaning to *admodum* in any of the other extracts. See especially *p. 119*, where it is opposed to *pene*; *p. 308* *totos se admodum Deo impendentes*; and *p. 198*.

1. Licet omnes admodum filii membra parentum esse videntur, non putandi sunt tamen membra eorum esse a quibus affectu coeperint discrepare. *De Gubern. Dei*, iii. p. 62. (ed. Baluz. Paris 1669).—Omnes admodum sancti in libris sacris inter discriminum imminentium metus et persecutorum gladios constituti, præsens judicium Dei postulant. *Ibid.* ii. p. 40.—Illa quæ beatissimus Paulus pertulit, immo quæ in libris postea de religione conscriptis omnes admodum Christianos legimus pertulisse. *Ibid.* iii. p. 50.—Omnes enim admodum se laudari volunt. Nulli grata reprehensio est. *Ibid.* viii. p. 184.—Adeo illic omnes admodum regio aut intertexta vineis, aut florulenta pratis &c. *Ibid.* vii. p. 151.—Omnes enim admodum in perditionem ruunt, aut certe, ut aliquid dicam lenius, pene omnes. *Ibid.* vi. p. 119.—Jubet enim Deus ut cuncti egentibus sua tribuant: cuncti admodum aliena pervadunt. *Ibid.* iii. p. 57.—Omnes admodum homines, pie magis quam sapienter, eos qui nobis curæ sunt cupimus quam diutissime esse nobiscum. *Epist.* v. p. 205.—Omnes admodum homines, qui pertinere ad humani officii culturam existimarunt ut aliquod linguarum opus studio ingeniorum excuderent, id speciali cura elaborarunt, ut sive utiles res ac probas, sive inutiles atque improbas stylo texerent, seriem tantum rerum nitore verborum illustrarent, causisque ipsis quas loqui vellent, loquendo lucem accenderent. *De Gubern. Dei*, Præf. p. 1.—Jam si addenda est ipsius fugæ ratio, quale illud fuit, cum tantus rex, tanti nominis, cunctis regibus altior, mundo major, omnes admodum suos cum paucissimis suis fugeret. *Ibid.* ii. p. 39.

2. In Afris vero pene omnibus nihil horum est, quod ad utrumque pertineat, id est, bonum æque ac malum: quia totum admodum malum. *Ibid.* vii. p. 166.—Vendunt nobis hostes lucis usuram. Tota admodum salus nostra commercium est. *Ibid.* vi. p. 148.—In nullo sibi parcentes, sed totos se admodum Deo impendentes. *Advers. Avar.* iv. p. 308.—Cf. Exceptis tamen

perpaucis ferme sanctis atque insignibus viris,...exceptis, inquam, his quos loquor, quos utique etiam in illa tunc generali admodum colluvione vitiorum recte minorum criminum reos fuisse credimus; *De Gubern. Dei*, vii. p. 153.

3. Solæ spectaculorum impuritates sunt, quæ unum admodum faciunt et agentium et aspicientium crimen. *Ibid.* vi. pp. 123, 124.—Nos non possumus causa esse divisi. Idem enim nobis admodum metus est, etiamsi non eadem videtur offensa. *Epist.* iv. p. 198.

4. Neque ulli admodum præter summos a vastatione latrocinii populantis immunes, nisi qui fuerint ipsis latronibus pares. *De Gubern. Dei*, v. p. 103.—Et quidem licet nullum admodum malum facinus ratione subsistat, quia rationi non possunt scelera conjungi, nullum tamen est, ut puto, vel inrationabilius, vel insanius. *Ibid.* iv. p. 77.—Nulla enim admodum tum spiritui cum corpore, id est, nulla divinæ indoli cum terreno hoste luctatio est. *Epist.* v. p. 206.—Cf. a corrupt passage in *Epist.* iv. p. 198.

5. Semper admodum cibo, nunquam detractioe saturamur. *De Gubern. Dei*, iii. p. 54.—In the following passage it seems uncertain whether *admodum* should be taken with *semper* or with *grave*. Quod quidem licet semper admodum grave sit, tunc tamen magis intolerabile. *Ibid.* vi. p. 136.

In two passages the word is found in the ordinary sense of "greatly," "utterly." Si non perire admodum verba æstiment quæ nihil loquentibus prosint. *Ibid.* iv. p. 87.—Diximus...contra eos admodum esse quod agnoverint veritatem. *Ibid.* v. init. p. 97.—Similarly, Vidimus...decrepitos Christianos, imminente admodum jam excidio civitatis, gulæ ac lasciviæ servientes. *Ibid.* vi. p. 139. *When the ruin of the state already hung full upon them.*—Quis enim non cum ipsis suis iniquitatibus moritur, et cum ipsis admodum atque in ipsis sceleribus sepelitur? *Ibid.* v. p. 114. *Who is not buried altogether with and in his own sins?*

J. E. B. MAYOR.

IV. On some uses of the word *limes*.

CERTAIN military operations of the army under Germanicus are thus described in a well-known passage of Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 50). "At Romanus agmine proprio silvam Cæsiam limitemque a Tiberio cœptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo latera concædibus munitus." The word *limes* is universally

assumed to mean here some kind of wall, dyke, or other continuous fortification, which bounded the Roman empire and kept out the barbarians. Lipsius saw the difficulty of taking it with *scindit*, and proposed to read *scandit*. Cluvier objected that *silvam* would then require another verb. Freinsheim replied that, if the forest were on the side of a hill, it might be scaled as well as a rampart. Subsequent editors have reasonably demurred to the suggestion, and busied themselves with finding a meaning for the received text. To the obvious interpretation usually adopted, that Germanicus cleared his way through the forest and cut a hole in the rampart through which his army might pass, there is no philological objection; the use of the operation is not so obvious. As the steep face of the rampart (the supposition of a regular wall it is not worth arguing against) was turned towards the Germans, the Romans could leap down easily enough, or, if the height were too great, could quickly fill up as much of the ditch as was necessary. To cut a hole in the supposed rampart would only enable the Germans to transgress the line subsequently without difficulty. Accordingly other editors take *scindit* to mean that the army "crossed" the rampart. But Tacitus does not use precise words with vague and scarcely tolerable meanings: nor can we have recourse to a zeugma, for *limitem* not *silvam* is the nearer word to *scindit*. But the context renders both explanations still less tenable. Where did the army encamp? If on the top of the *vallum*, or in any way including part of the entire lines, why adopt such a singular mode of defence as *concedes* at the sides, while front and rear had, as usual, a *vallum*? If in the ditch, a more helpless situation can hardly be conceived, to say nothing of the terms employed. If in a hole in the *vallum*, why place *concedes* at the side, or make a fresh *vallum* behind, since the Germans could only get there by forcing a passage in front? I do not say that any of these difficulties are quite insuperable, but they are very serious. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether the meaning of *limitem* may not have been too readily taken for granted. To answer this question, we must briefly examine the history of the word, which is confusedly treated in the lexicons.

The etymology of *limes*¹ points at once to its early employ-

¹ From *limus*, 'transverse,' and *eo*. from *eo*, see Dr Donaldson's *Varronianus*, 24, 419. The old word *limus*, preserved

ment in the partition of assigned land. It is there applied to the balks or strips of uncultivated soil by which the square plots were separated from each other according to a regular system based on celestial observations. These balks were universally in theory, and generally in practice, further appropriated as public roads. Now from their primary and secondary uses and from their appearance are derived all the various meanings of *limes*. First, they were boundaries. Hence the familiar but not very common meaning either of limits, or of the outward signs by which limits are marked. The word however, after it had transgressed its proper reference, seems in the case of land to have been used only of artificial signs of limits as opposed to the natural features of a country, ("In plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepiis funditus jactis atque connexis barbaros separavit." Spartian. *Hadr.* 12. "Limes ergo est quodcumque in agro opera manuum factum est ad observationem finium." Aggen. *De agr. qual.* pp. 2, 3. "Territoria inter civitates, id est inter municipia et colonias et præfecturas, alia fluminibus finiuntur, alia summis montium jugis ac divergiis aquarum, alia etiam lapidibus positis præsignibus, qui a privatorum terminorum forma differunt: alia etiam inter binas colonias limitibus perpetuis diriguntur." Sic. Flac. *De cond. agr.* p. 163); and specially of the posts properly called *termini*¹ ("Limites in agris nunc termini, nunc viæ

in *limis oculis*, is recognised by the grammarians, Agrimensores, and Arnobius. Even when the proper astronomical determination of the *cardo* and *decumanus* was disregarded, the transverseness of the *limites* was strictly preserved. "Nam nec illis coloniis hoc nomine quicquam injuriæ factum est, quod kardines loco decimanorum observantur, decimani loco kardinum: omnis limitum conexio rectis angulis continetur, extremitas mensuraliter obligata est, &c." Hyginus *De limit. constit.* p. 181 of *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, edited by Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff.

¹ The word is used not in this but in the preceding more general sense by Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 898;

Saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte jacebat,
Limes agro positus litem ut discernere arvis;

(where see Wagner's note): otherwise there would be a bald pleonasm. But in *Georg.* I. 126,

Ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum

Fas erat,

we have the strict ancient sense, *signare* being used in distinct opposition. So also the Theodosian Code, II. xxvi. 4; "si veteribus finem cum signis limes inclusus congruum erudita arte præstiterit." Godefroi's note should be consulted; but he does not seem to know that a *signum* or *terminus* was ever called *limes*. It is indeed a late usage, nor have I

transversæ." Fest. Exc. p. 116 Müll. "Usque adeo ut eos [carbones] substernere soleant, qui limites figunt, ad convincendum litigatorem, quisquis post quantalibet tempora exstiterit, fixumque lapidem limitem non esse contenderit." August. *De civ. Dei*. xxi.

4). Secondly, from the employment of the balks as roads *limes* came to mean any kind of path or way. This purely general meaning is however almost confined to the poets, especially to Ovid. Usually there is some reminiscence of the third characteristic of the balks, their appearance. Their simplest aspect is as regular strips or bands having a certain uniform width, be it great or small. Hence *limes* is appropriately used of the Zodiac (Ovid, *Met.* ii. 130), of the trail or wake of meteors (several authors), of the stripes (= strips), not lines, as the lexicons say, in some gem resembling an agate (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 10. § 69). But further the well trodden balks, leading between blocks of corn or vines, would appear as grooves or hollow ways upon the surface of the country. Accordingly this idea of channeling is prominent in many derivative applications. Thus the word is used of the bed of a river (Ovid, *Met.* xviii. 548; Propert. iv. iv. 50(?); iv. ix. 60; Plaut. *Pæn.* iii. iii. 18¹); of the wake of a swimmer (Ovid, *Her.* xviii. 133) and perhaps of a ship; and often, especially with the verb *agere* (used also by the Agrimensores), of the lane of dead made by a warrior as he cuts his way through an adverse host.

From these instances it is easy to see how appropriately a lane, "ride," or unpaved military road cleared through a region of thicket and forest might be termed a *limes*. Such I believe to be the meaning of the word in the above passage of Tacitus. In this way *scindit* retains a natural force with *silvam* and *militem* alike, though not the same with both². Germanicus cleft

been able to find even the more general sense, from which it recedes, in the earlier of the Agrimensores. The transition appears in the last clause of the passage quoted above from St Augustine.

¹ "Nunc vos mihi amnes estis: vos certum est sequi.

Si benedicetis, vostra ripa vos sequar;
Si maledicetis, vostro gradiar limite."

Surely *limite* cannot here mean the

same thing as *ripa*. In a passage of Seneca, *De benef.* i. 14 ("nos, quum ista præcipimus, benignitatis fines introrsus referre, et illi minus laxum limitem aperire"), the idea of a river appears to be intended. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* i. 16.

² The following examples of nearly similar syllepses are taken from Boetticher's *Prolegomena*, p. lxxviii. "Hinc militum, inde locorum asperitas." *Ann.* ii. 80. "Tribuni cum terrore et arma-

(penetrated through¹) the forest, and cut a lane,—cut the lane which Tiberius had only begun. At night he encamped in the 'lane' itself, caused a ditch to be dug across it and the earth to be thrown up into a *vallum* in the front and rear of the army, and at either side piled the felled trunks and branches into barricades supported by the standing trees². When he had emerged from the dense Cæsian forest, through which he had thus been obliged to hew his way, he threaded certain intricate glades opening among thickets (*inde saltus obscuros permeat*).

It now becomes necessary to support this interpretation by other passages, and to examine those which have been adduced to shew that *limes* sometimes means a fortified line along the boundary of the Roman Empire. From *Ann.* ii. 7 ("cunota inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque permunita") we can gather only that *limites* were means of defence: that roads or lanes through the forest answered such a purpose, will appear presently. It is very unlikely that *limites* can be identical with *aggeres*, which were probably in this case local dykes across ranges of high and dry land dividing morasses. Again in *Germ.* 29 ("Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiæ possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque præsidii sinus imperii et pars provinciæ habentur") the same observation will hold good: it is moreover unnatural that the phrase *limitem agere* should be employed in an unusual sense³. In *Hist.* iii. 21—25 there is a minute account

torum catervis volitabant." *Hist.* ii. 88. "Mixti copiis et lætitiâ." *Agric.* 25.

¹ Ritter is, I believe, the only editor who has found any difficulty in applying *scindit* directly to *silvam*. There is however a slight zeugma, *scindit* being chosen specially with reference to *limitem*.

² An operation of this kind is thus described by Cæsar (*B. G.* iii. 29). "Reliquis deinceps diebus Cæsar silvas cedere instituit; et, ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quæ erat cæsa, conversam ad hos-

tem [who just before "subito ex omnibus partibus silvæ evolaverunt"] collocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus extruebat." As Cæsar is describing the day's progressive work, and not the night's repose, we hear nothing of entrenchments in front or rear: by *vallo* he means a barricade, having in view the palisade which stood on the dyke of a complete *vallum*.

³ Lipsius felt the difficulty, for he proposes to read *aucto*. Gronovius defends the MS. reading in an excellent note, and then perversely interpolates the notion of a fortified boundary.

of the battle fought near Cremona between the Flavian and Vitellian parties. Antonius, hearing of the approach of the Vitellians, posted his own army on and on both sides of the *via Postumia*; the 13th legion on the convex causeway of the road itself (in ipso viæ Postumiæ aggere), touching them on the left (cui juncta a lævo) the 7th Galbian in the open plain, and next the 7th Claudian guarded in front by an *agrestis fossa*; on the right the 8th *per apertum limitem*, then with a small interval (mox) the 3rd shut off by thick bushes. Now what does Tacitus mean by *apertum limitem*? Surely either an ordinary balk used as a road, or a road of the same nature though, it may be, not used for mensuration: in either case there would be peculiar force in *apertus*, beside its use in distinguishing this part of the field of battle: applied to part of a high road it is superfluous. Some editors however take *limes* to be the flat border which ran on each side of some of the great roads. If so, why do we hear of it on one side only, the legion which stood on the open plain on the other side being in contact with (juncta) the legion on the central *agger*? And what evidence is there that these borders were ever called *limites*? The 25th chapter, it may be answered. There we are told how Antonius rallied his almost defeated forces, charged the enemy with success, and how the conquerors spread in pursuit *per limitem viæ*. But it would be strange for them to confine themselves to the borders; still stranger, to a single border: and we never hear of a road with only one. If therefore the reading is sound, I think we must, however awkwardly, take *limes viæ* for the whole width of the road, including the borders, if there were any, which we have seen to be unlikely. But the phrase is unknown elsewhere¹; and we ought probably

¹ There are two *prima facie* exceptions. In Liv. xxii. 15 Minucius is said to have been sent to occupy the narrow pass overhanging the sea above Tarracina (saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari), lest the Carthaginian army should make its way into the Roman territory *immunito Appiæ limitē*. To take *limes* here as a border of the *via Appia* makes nonsense; and it is of no force if taken to mean simply the entire width of the road. In reality the true idea of *limes*

is beautifully illustrated by the passage. At this particular point the *via Appia* passed along a deep cutting hewn in the rock, and Livy could properly speak of the danger of leaving "the channel of the Appia unguarded." "Appius eut un rocher quasi tout pareil à combattre pres de la ville de Terracine, qui bouchoit le passage à son entreprise. Pour la continuation de laquelle il fit faire une ouverture dans le dit rocher à coups de ciseaux et de marteaux . . . le tout enclos entre deux murailles tres hautes, faictes de la

to read *limitem viam* (ā for æ), and infer that the scribe did not understand the Tacitean use of two accusatives without a conjunction.

The operation begun by Tiberius is supposed to be thus alluded to by Velleius Paterculus (ii. 120) "*Ultro Rhenum cum exercitu transgreditur. Arma infert, quæ arcuisse pater et patria contenti erant; penetrat interius, aperit limites, vastat agros, urit domos,...in hiberna revertitur.*" The phrase *aperit limites* might without much constraint mean "he enlarges the bounds" (sc. of the Empire); but this would be a strangely general proposition to insert among the particular acts of a campaign. But it is philologically impossible that it can mean "he makes fortified frontiers," with or without the idea of enlarged domain. On the other hand *aperit* is a regular word for the clearing of a path¹, and the phrase "he opens out forest-roads" ranges well with the other specific acts mentioned. The evidence afforded by the Augustan Historians is rather vague. When Spartianus tells us (*Had.* 12) that in many places, where the barbarians are separated from the empire not by rivers but *limitibus*, Hadrian kept them out by constructing a strong palisade, the fact excludes instead of supporting the meaning of "fortified lines," and shews that we must understand mere frontiers as opposed to the bounds set by physical geography. From the third century onwards *limes* frequently means the frontier of the empire, almost the "Marches," and is so used in the Theodosian Code and Digest. Certain armies (*limitanei milites*) and officers were specially assigned for its defence, and we hear much of isolated forts²; but never of

matiere mesme du roc, lissees et polies comme tables de marbre." Bergier, *Hist. des gr. chemins de l'Empire*, p. 158. The other passage is in Statius's description of the making of the *Via Domitiana* (*Sylv.* iv. iii. 41).

Hic primus labor inchoare sulcos
Et rescindere limites, et alto
Egestu penitus cavare terras;

Mox haustas aliter replere fossas etc.
First, a thin furrow was cut on each side to mark the extent of the intended road, then the strips between were ripped up ("submovebantur interstitia," Barth), then they were dug and cleared out to a

certain depth, then filled in with harder materials, &c. Here *limes* may be either simply the strip before it is dug, or the channel which it becomes by digging; in the latter case we have an exact parallel to the passage of the *Annals*, *rescindere* occurring for *scindit*. In neither case have we anything to do with a finished road like the *Via Postumia*.

¹ It is used with *limes* by Hyginus (*De lim. const.* p. 192). "*Limitibus secundum suam legem latitudines dabimus, et aperiri in perpetuum cogemus.*"

² See Godefroi on *Cod. Theod.* vii. xv.

fortified lines, except locally, when more express words are used¹. Thus Posthumius is appointed by Valerian (*Ep. ap. Treb. Pol. XXX Tyr. 3*) "Transrhenani limitis dux et Galliæ præses"; and we shortly afterwards (c. 5) hear of the Germans making an inroad and destroying "nonnulla castra quæ Posthumius per septem annos in solo barbarico ædificaverat"; and again of cities, camps, and soldiery established "in solo barbarico" by Probus (*Fl. Vopisc. Prob. 13*)². Returning to earlier times, we find Livy using *limes* for cross roads³, probably balks (*xxii. 12*; *xxxii. 13*; *xxxiv. 28*); and also for an avenue leading to a public place (*xxxi. 24*: "et extra [Chalcidem] limes mille ferme passus, in Academis gymnasium ferens, pediti equitque hostium liberum spatium præberet: eo limite Athenienses...signa extulerunt"). The idea of an avenue seems likewise to belong to Cicero's hope that to patriots "quasi limes ad cœli aditum patet" (*Somn. Scip. 8*), and Ovid's picture of the approach to the palace of the Sun (*Met. ii. 19*; "Quo simul acclivo Climeneia limite proles Venit"). But the passages which most clearly support the view here maintained are two in Frontinus (*Strateg. i. 3. § 9*; *5. § 10*). Pericles, we are told, being besieged had but two means of exit: on one side he made (duxit) a large ditch, as if to keep out the enemy; on the other "limitem agere cœpit, tanquam per eum erupturus." The besiegers guarded the *limes*, and he escaped by the ditch. Again Domitian, "cum Germani more suo e saltibus et obscuris latebris subinde impugnarent nostros, tutumque regressum in profunda silvarum habent, limitibus per centum

¹ Ledebur (*Land u. Volk der Bructerer*, 308) naively remarks on the supposed *limites Tiberis*: "Es ist aber anzunehmen, dass bei diesen Landwehren weniger die eigentlichen Gränzen des Landes, als vielmehr die zum Schutz sich besonders eignenden Terrain-Gegenstände, als Flüsse, Berge, Sümpfe benutzt worden sind, diesen Gränzwällen grössere Festigkeit zu geben. Eine Bestätigung für diese Annahme finden wir in der sogleich näher zu betrachtenden Reihe von Befestigungen, u. s. w." Hoeck (*Röm. Gesch. i. (3). 15*) discreetly ignores the *limes* altogether: Mr Merivale (*R. H. v. 31, 2*) is bolder.

² So *Fl. Vopisc. Tac. 3*; *Amm. Mar.*

xvii. 13; *xxvi. 4*; *xxix. 6*. In *xxiii. 3* the words "vicino limite quodam perupto" are not easy on any interpretation: possibly *milite* is the true reading: the two words are often interchanged in MSS. In *xxx. 9*, Valentinian is called "oppidorum et limitum conditor tempestivus:" but Ammian's common meaning, "frontier", may stand, if we remember that at this time a frontier implied a frontier army.

³ "Itaque et stratum militari labore iter sæpe deserimus compendio ducti; et, si rectum limitem rupti torrentibus pontes inciderint, circumire cogemur." *Quint. Inst. ii. 13, § 16*.

viginti millia passuum actis non mutavit tantum statum belli, sed subiecit ditioni suæ hostes, quorum refugia nudaverat." Will it be believed that this passage has been adduced to support the meaning of a line of fortification? The last words "quorum refugia nudaverat" sufficiently explain how rude forest-roads, piercing into the enemy's country, are useful defences of a frontier. It is no reproach to the earlier scholars, accustomed only to European warfare, that the idea did not present itself to their minds. We however are able to profit by the experience of our colonies; and it is interesting to read the Duke of Wellington's opinion on the only safe way of securing the Cape from Kafir incursions (Speech of Feb. 5, 1852, in Hansard's *Debates*, Ser. III. lxi. 175). "The operations of the Kafirs have been carried on by the occupation of extensive regions, which in some places are called jungle, in others bush, but in reality it is thickset, the thickest wood that could be found anywhere. * * I have had a great deal to do with such guerilla warfare, and the only mode of subduing a country like that is to open roads into it so as to admit of the transport of troops with the utmost facility. * * It is absolutely necessary roads should be opened immediately into these fastnesses. The only fault I can find with Sir Harry Smith's operations is, that he has not adopted the plan of opening such roads, after he had attacked and taken possession of those fastnesses."

F. J. A. HORT.

Notices of New Books.

HESYCHII q. v. f. *Editionis specimen proponit* MAURICIUS SCHMIDT.
Jenæ, sumptibus Frederici Maukii. 1856.

[MORE than a century has elapsed since Alberti's cumbrous and costly volumes were given to the world; since which time the publication of inedited grammars and lexicons, and the new editions of Suidas, and the *Etymol. Magn.*, have discovered the sources of many glosses, and have supplied the means of correcting others. M. Schmidt, a frequent contributor to the *Philologus*, and editor of Didymus Chalcenterus, has undertaken with the aid of these new materials to prepare such a critical edition of Hesychius "ut Albertina farragine in posterum sine damno careamus." The sheet before us, the first sheet of the lexicon, is published as a specimen. But the editor shall speak for himself. "Rectene vero an secus fecerit Fredericus Maukius, redemptor harum plagularum

honestissimus, quod, cum tot alat Germania philologos illustres, quibus ego neque acumine neque lectione sim comparandus, mihi potissimum hanc Hesychii post Albertum denuo edendi provinciam imposuerit, hoc ipsum quod gravissimum est minus liquet. Itaque de futuri editoris indole atque dotibus ingenii ut viri docti exactius ferre iudicium possint, prodire iussimus hoc editionis tamquam prævium specimen, ejusdem imaginis ad normam expressum, quam absoluti operis habemus animo conceptam. Patebunt certe hinc τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἑδάφη, quibus si publicis commodis pro virili consuluisset visus ero, habeo quod mihi gratuler. Vos vero, si qui eritis, lectores spectatissimi non dimittam nisi enixe rogatos, ut benigne me in communionem bonorum vestrorum admittatis, qua opera nostra aliquid adjumenti incrementique capere possit."

Below the text are arranged separately 1. COD. the readings of the MS. 2. LEX. References to other lexicons. 3. TENT. The more plausible conjectural emendations. 4. SCR. References to ancient authors in which the words explained occur. A comparison of these notes with the *variorum* collection in Alberti will satisfy the reader that while nothing of real importance, except what is easily accessible elsewhere, has been omitted, the editor has spared no pains in bringing together valuable suggestions and illustrations from all quarters. Perhaps England may furnish no contemptible addition to his resources, if Archdeacon Hare's suspicions (*Philol. Mus.* i. 207, 208) shall prove to have been well founded. "Professor Scholefield would confer a fresh obligation on all scholars, if he would undertake the labour of editing the unpublished portion of Porson's remains, the remarks on the Greek prosewriters and on Hesychius, which we have been told are of such great importance."... "Very little has hitherto been published out of Elmsley's papers since his death: and yet so laborious and accurate a scholar must probably have left many important observations: it was even reported that he had collated the manuscript of Hesychius, and read it very differently from either Musurus or Schow. It is to be hoped that some member of his university will ere long be induced to inquire into this point, and, should there be anything deserving to be placed before the learned world, will superintend its publication." Be this as it may, there is another kind of contribution which the editor may fairly claim from English scholars, and from the managers of our college libraries. The publisher engages to complete the work if sent to press, but cannot begin to print before he receives a sufficient number of subscribers' names. "Wer also gern im Besitze des Hesychius sein will, trägt durch schnelle Einsendung seiner Subscription förderlich für das Erscheinen bei." The form will be 4to; the whole will be published in 16—20 parts of 8—10 sheets each, within the space of two years. Each part will be charged 20 Sgr. (2s.) to subscribers; to non-subscribers the price will be considerably higher.

Before parting with M. Schmidt we would call attention to his elaborate review of the recent editions of Suidas in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, Vol. 72, pt. 8, and in so doing may be allowed to clear Bernhardy from an

undeserved reproach. It is often said that he merely availed himself of Dr. Gaisford's labours; whereas in fact he collated partially both the Paris and Leyden MSS., and had printed several sheets before the Oxford edition appeared. On the whole, notwithstanding its numerous errata, Bernhardt's must be regarded as the best edition of Suidas, and, as it is now reduced to one-half of its original price, it is within the reach of many students, who can only hope to admire the luxuries of the Clarendon press in a public library.]

J. E. B. M.

Rhetores Græci ex recognitione. L. SPENGLER, Tom. III. (Lips. Teubner, 1856).

[THIS volume completes the work. It comprises the rhetorical treatises of Alexander Numenius, Phœbammōn, Tiberius, Herodian, Polybius, Zonæus, Tryphon, Gregorius Corinthius, Coccocondrius, Chæroboscus, Demetrius, Menander, and Nicolaus, besides anonymous productions. To these the editor intended to have added those of Sopater in a fourth volume, but was prevented from so doing by defective eyesight: the indices to the work are made by his friend Prof. Christius of Munich. Nothing appears in this volume for the first time; and indeed nothing which Walz had not included in his *Rhetores Græci*: but the labours of Finckh on several of the authors included has enabled Spengel to produce a purer text. A gross mistake however has been allowed to escape in the text of Georgius Chæroboscus, where *οἰωνοί* has been substituted for *οὐρανοί* in his citation from Ps. xix. 1, *οὐρανοί διεγούρναι δόξαν θεοῦ* (p. 254). With the single exception of Menander there is little in the present volume which presents much attraction to the general scholar¹. The various allusions in his *ἐπιδεικτικά* to history, mythology, geography, and social life, fully justify Spengel's observation that he must be counted among the better writers of his class: 'adeo curiose rem tractat, ut Platonicum sophistam res dissecantem et dividentem audire credas.' Most of the others in this volume possess this merit alone, that they have preserved fragments, and allusions to many classical citations otherwise unknown. For these we owe to them the same sort of gratitude as we do to a silt or gravel-heap which has preserved the fossil remains of an earlier epoch. Consequently two of the most important duties of an editor are to indicate the sources of quotations (where known, or probably to be conjectured) in the notes; and to bestow espe-

¹ There were perhaps more than one rhetorician of this name. The present writer is later than Aristides, whom he several times quotes; but from his silence respecting Christianity and pagan remarks may probably have lived before the empire became Christian. (However at p. 369, l. 17, there may possibly

be an allusion to 1 Pet. ii. 17.) No notice of this work occurs in Smith's *Dict. Biogr.* Fabricius thinks that the author is the same as the Laodicean commentator on Hermogenes, mentioned by Suidas. Spengel seems to think it doubtful whether the whole of the *ἐπιδεικτικά* is by one hand.

cial pains upon the index of authors quoted, referring both to their entire works and to their collected fragments. In these respects the edition of Spengel leaves something to be desired. Thus there is a spirited fragment against Demades cited by Herodian (p. 99), which is referred by Vömel to Demosthenes (rightly we think, because its author *must* have had a personal interview with Philip), but by others to Poly-euctus or to Hyperides (see Sauppe, *Fragm. Oratt. Att.* p. 274). Neither in the notes of Spengel, nor in any of the indices, is anything said of this passage. Again, comparing Menander's remarks about Zestor and Sunium (pp. 338 and 439) with the opening fragments of the *Deliaeus* of Hyperides (p. 286, Sauppe), there can be no doubt that they are taken from it: this circumstance is passed over by Spengel; and indeed generally little or no attention has been paid to the editions of collected fragments of any author. At p. 407, l. 10, is a clear allusion to Hesiod, *Op. et D.* v. 374, which is omitted in the notes and indices. Upon the whole however we must praise the labour bestowed on the work by Spengel and his friends.]

CH. B.

Correspondence.

I WISH to make two corrections in the "Notes on the Agamemnon of Æschylus."

1. In p. 206, I have proposed to read οὐκ ἂν ἐξέυπει for οὐκ ἂν ἐξευ-
πεῖν, in Demosth. *Nicostr.* p. 1246. In making this correction I had before me only Mr Shilleto's Appendix. On referring to the context I find, of course, that the ambiguous ἦν is not the third person, but the first. The correction, therefore, should be οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύπων, which is still easier.

2. It seems that the pedigree of the emendation: ἐγὼ δ' αὖ ἐφόμα (p. 216) cannot be carried back farther than Mr Stratton: so that the note, to which I refer, is correct, and the statement, which I received orally, is founded on a mistake, for the explanation and correction of which I am indebted to Professor Selwyn himself: he says that "probably this mistake has arisen out of a true incident between *Professor Scholefield* and myself, when I was his private pupil in 1825. I suggested to him καὶ παῖνός in *Agam.* 512, but he did not receive it, till he found it in Dobree's MSS."

J. W. D.

[We are indebted to a Correspondent for pointing out that the fragment of St Dionysius given in our last number had been edited by Pitra in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* (i. 15) from a Baroecian MS. in the Bodleian Library. The following are the variations of reading, those which seem worthy of adoption being marked with an asterisk. Line 1. γνομένων.—2. καὶ om.—3. *πιστεύοντες δὲ εἰ.—5. τοῦ Κυρίου.—8. *ἀφαι-
μένων.—12. *ἐαυτοῖς δὲ τούτους.—16. τὸ om.—17. *δὴ καὶ τοῦτο.—18. *αὐτῷ om. Pitra observes that the fragment published by Mai coincides almost verbally with a passage in the 8th epistle ascribed to "Dionysius the Areopagite" (i. 789 Cord.).

We have received a long letter from George Burges, Esq. in answer to a statement made by Dr Donaldson in our last number (p. 201). Mr Burges affirms that Lobeck's emendation appeared not in his 1st but in his 2nd edition of the *Ajax*; and therefore that the priority belongs to himself. We have compared the two editions of Lobeck, and believe Mr Burges' statement to be correct. Mr Burges also mentions that his collections of emendations may be found in the *Classical Journal* (No. 48, pp. 412, 3), in his Poppo's *Prolegomena* (pp. 295, 6), in his *Specimens of New Editions of Thucydides, Æschylus and Euripides* (pp. 28, 9), and at the end of the preface to his metrical version of the *Aias* of Sophocles. He further points out that Dr Donaldson's alteration of $\delta\upsilon\ \pi\omega\varsigma$ into $\epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\omega\varsigma$ (p. 219) has been anticipated in his own article, entitled "The Living Lamps of Learning," in the *Church of England Quarterly Review* (No. 13, p. 101.) EDD.

Contents of Foreign Journals.

Baur u. Zeller's Theol. Jahrb. 1856. No. 1. On the scope of Eastern and Western Christian development, by Planck. On the system of the Gnostic Basilides, by Hilgenfeld, and also by Baur.—No. 2. On the First Petrine Ep. &c., by Baur. On the origin of the book of Enoch, by Köstlin. On Simon Magus, &c., by Volckmar.—No. 3. On Clement of Rome (Ep. ad Phil., Ep. Barn., Judith), by Volckmar. On the origin of the book of Enoch, by Köstlin. On the spuriousness of Hadrian's rescript on behalf of the Christians, by Kerin. On the connexion of Essenism with the Greek world, by Zeller.

Gerhard's Denkmäler. 1856. Nos. 82—84. Dryopic architecture in the ruins of Eubœa, by C. Bursian.—Delphyne or Delphine, by Wieseler.—Hermes, the gold-inspector, by the same.—Demeter Mysia, by Osann.—Dionysos, as god of the stage and the Muses, by O. Jahn.—Greek inscriptions, by K. Keil.—Hestia Giustiniani, by Welcker.—Triptolemus from Egypt to Italy, by Preller.—Sethlans, by the same.—(The *Anzeiger*, Nos. 82—84 A.B. contains notes on inscriptions by A. v. Velsen and W. Vischer; Sarcophagus in Athens, by C. Bursian; Terracottas in Rheinzabern, by J. v. Hefner; Inscriptions from Arles, by A. Baumeister.)—Nos. 85—87. Etruscan terracotta found in Gaul, by E. Gerhard.—Terracotta of Xenophantos, by the same.—The attributes of the Hera image at Argos and of Nike Apteros at Athens, by Bötticher. (The *Anzeiger*, Nos. 85—87, contains Inscriptions from Athens by A. v. Velsen, Papasliotis, and L. Ross; Antiquities of Samothrace; Notes of discoveries in Pompeii and on the Aventine; Tunnel from Syracuse to Ortygia, by Cavallari; Notes from Præneste; from the British Museum; on the Assyrian and Phœnician remains in the Louvre; Terracottas from Rheinzabern.) Nos. 88—90. Herakles and the Queen of the Amazons, by Gerhard.—Hestia and two Hetæras of Scopas, by Welcker.—Negro-head on Delphian coins by Preller.—Scopas, copas, by the same.—Phellos, Philus, Philus, by Panofka. On the Vase of Midias, by Gerhard. (The *Anzeiger* contains notes on a Bactrian silver vessel by G. Scharff; on the ruins at Spalato, by F. Adler. Inscriptions from Athens and Naples, by Papasliotis and Minervini.—On Roman tablets of wax from Dacia, by Niegebaur.—On the serpent-pillar at Constantinople and the inscriptions on it, by Gerhard and Frick.)

Gött. gel. Anz. 1856. Nos. 68—70. On Bonnet's *Lettres de Jean Calvin*, by G. Uhlhorn.—Nos. 70, 71. On De Luynes' *Mém. sur le sarcophage d'Ermunaxar*, by H. Ewald.—On Saalschütz's *Archäologie der Hebräer*, by E. Elster.—Nos. 76, 77. On Weber's *Indische Studien*, by Th. Benfey.—Nos. 78, 79. On Bindemann's *Der heil.*

Augustinus, by Holzhausen.—No. 80. On Bonecompagni's *Intorno ad alcune opere di Leonardo Pisano Matematico del secolo decimoterzo*. On Werthof's translation of Cavendonis *Biblische Numismatik*, by H. Ewald.—No. 83. On Heyse's *Romanische Inedita*, by Ad. Ebert.—Nos. 84—86. On Muller's *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, by C. G. Schmidt.—No. 89. On Düsterdieck's *Die drei johanneischen Briefe*, by himself.—Nos. 88—90. On Gachard's *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint au Monastère de Yuste*.—Nos. 93—96. On Schelling's *Sämmtliche Werke*, by H. Ritter.—No. 101. On Förstemann's *Norhusana*, by himself.—Nos. 104, 105. On Müller's *Grecoens Feide Skildret efter trykte og utrykte kilder*, Waitz' *Lübeck unter Jürgen Wullenwever*, &c., by G. Waitz.—Nos. 106, 107. Seetzen's *Reisen durch Syrien*, by H. Ewald.—Nos. 108—111. On Dernburg's *Compensation nach röm. Recht*, by W. M.—No. 111. On Orcurti's *Catalogo illustrato dei monumenti Egizii del R. Museo di Torino*, by Uhlemann.—No. 112. On Gérard's *Les Annales et la chronique des dominicains de Colmar*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 116, 117. On Schoemann's *Animadversiones de Ionibus*, and Bursian's *Questionum Euboicarum capita selecta*, by E. Curtius.—No. 119. On Rampf's *Der Brief Juda*; by Dr. Düsterdieck.—Nos. 121—123. On Weber's translation of Kālidāsa, *Mālavikā und Agnimitra*, by Th. Benfey.—No. 123. On Overbeck's *Pompeii*, by v. S.—Nos. 124, 125. On Rinke's *Disp. de Crimine ambitus et de sodaliciis*, by W. M.—Nos. 125, 126. On Mantels' *Lübeck und Marquard v. Westensee*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 126, 127. On the *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, by G. Waitz.—No. 127. On Fausböll's *Dhammapadam*, by Th. Benfey.—On Riedel's *Codes diplom. Brandenburgensis*, by E. G. F.—Nos. 128, 129. On Biondelli's *Poesie lombarde inedite del secolo XIII.* by A. Ebert.—Nos. 129, 130. On de Jouy's *Les della Robbia, sculpteurs en terre émaillée*, by Fr. W. Unger.—No. 130. On Heider's *Mittelalt. Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, by Fr. W. Unger.—No. 131. On Klerck's *Disquisitio hist. lit. de L. Munatio Planco*.—Nos. 132, 133. On Strachey's *Hebrew Politics in the times of Sargon*, &c., by H. Ewald.—Nos. 140—142. On Kenrick's *Phœnicia* and Schlotmann's *Die Grabchrift des Eschmunasar*, by H. Ewald.—No. 142. On Munk's essay (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1856), on the same inscription, by the same.—Nos. 146, 147. On Beelen's *Clementis Romani epistola binæ de virginitate*, by H. Ewald.—Nos. 148, 149. On Clinton's *Literary Remains*, by E. C.—Nos. 149—151. On Ellissen's *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, by himself.—No. 151. On Stillfried's *Monumenta Zollerana*, by E. G. F.—Nos. 152—154. On Lipsius, *Æchtheit der syrischen Recension der Ignatianischen Briefe*, by G. Uhlhorn.—No. 156. On Troya's *Codices diplomatico Longobardo*, a Vesmes und Neugebauer's *Edicta regum Langobardorum*, and Anschütz' *Die Lombarda-Commentare des Aripbrand und Albertus*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 162, 163. On Murchison's *Siluria*, by H.

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Zeitschrift f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft v. Cæsar. May 5, 1856. On the Chronology and Character of the Works of Praxiteles, by Friedrichs. On Hesychius, by Nauck. On the Cloaca Maxima, by Schultze. Archæological Philology, by Schubart. On ἑτέρος τοσοῦτος, and *alter tantus*, by Funkhänel. Reviews of Bröcker's *Altröm. Geschichte*, by Gerlach; of Huschke's *Oskesch. u. Sabell. Sprachdenkmäler*, by Stier; of Müller's *Geographi Græci Minores*, by Osann. June 30. On Palæography and Criticism, by Schubart. On the three books common to the Nicom. and Eudem. Ethics, by Rieckher. On Quintilian, by Meister. On Aleman, Hipponax, Hesychius, by M. Schmidt. On the song of the *Fratres Arvales*, by Bergk. Reviews of Merkel's *Apollonius Rhodius*, by M. Schmidt; of Müller's *Geogr. Græci Min.*, by Osann; of Richter, *de supinis Latine linguæ*, by Lentz. Sept. 15. *Platonica* II. III. by Wagner. On Alcæus, by Bergk. On Demosthenes, by Funkhänel. The religious life of the Romans, by Zeyss. Hesychius, by M. Schmidt. The Erechtheum, by Petersen. Reviews of Usener's *Questiones Anaximeneæ*, by Kayser; of Wüstemann's *promptuarium sententiarum*, by S.; of Müller's translation of Plato, and Wagner's *Platon's Theätet*, *Sophist*, *Staatsman*, by Petzold.

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Mnemosyne. Tijdschrift voor classieke Litteratuur. 1856. Vol. v. pt. 2. *Cicero pro Archia?* by J. A. Schneither.—Review of J. B. Kan's *Disputatio antiquaria de Ephoris Spartani*, by S. A. Naber.—Remarks on some passages of Aristoph. *Pez.* by H. G. Hamaker.—On *Æsch. Suppl.* 212, by E. J. Kiehl.—On J. A. Wynne, *de fide et auctoritate Appiani in Bellis Romanorum civilibus exploratis fontibus, quibus usus esse videtur*, by J. G. Hulleman.—*Varie Lectiones*. Scr. C. G. Cobet.—De *Nomothetarum* in *Atheniensium Civitate*. Scr. J. Bake.—*Fronto et Tacitus*, Scr. C. G. Cobet. [Who adds to the parallels cited in the *Journal of Philology*, i. 20, the passage of Athenæus there referred to as quoted by Orelli from earlier editors.] Pt. 3, *Varie Lectiones*. Scr. C. G. Cobet.—De *modis nuptiarum ineundarum Jure Attico*. Scr. A. H. G. P. van den Es.—*Inscriptio Græca ex Philologo vii. 295*. Scr. C. G. C.—Remarks on some passages of Aristoph. *Thesmoph.*, by H. G. Hamaker.—De *Paulo qui fertur Claudio*. Scr. T. G. Hulleman.—*Onosander x. 57*. Scr. C. G. Cobet.—Subscription of a MS. of *Xen. Hellenic*, by E. J. Kiehl.—*Lectiones Tullianæ. Caput i.* Scr. W. G. Pleygers.—Review of A. L. Brugsma's *Specimen inaugurale continens gymnasiarum apud Græcos descriptionem*, by E. Mehler.

München Gel. Anz. Vol. 42. Class 1. Nos. 1, 2. On Cavedoni's *Biblische Numismatik*, übersetzt von Werkhof, by Creuzer.—Nos. 2—4. On Zumpt's *Comment. Epigraph.* Vol. II., by Kayser.—Nos. 5—7. On Sillig's *Pliny, &c.*—Nos. 8, 9. On Schoemann's *Emend. Agam. Æschyl.*, by Thiersch.—Nos. 10—13. On Orelli's *Cicero*, ed. 2, by Kayser.—Nos. 14, 15. On Vollgraff's *Ethnologie*, by Warnkönig.—Nos. 15—17. On Brugsch's *Grammaire Demotique*, by Plath.—No. 17. On L. Stephani's *Aurrunder Herakles*, by Ø.—Nos. 18—20. On Vollgraff's *Ethnologie*, (2nd Article), by Plath.—Nos. 23—25. On Dietsch's *Versuch über Thukydides*, by Thomas.—Class 3. Nos. 4, 5. On Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*, by Thomas.—Vol. 43. Class 1. Nos. 1, 2. On Cavedoni's *Biblische Numismatik* (continued), by Creuzer.—Nos. 4—6. On Krüger's *Geschichte der Assyrier und Iranier*, by Spiegel.—Nos. 10—12. On Renan's *Langues Sémitiques*, by Spiegel.—Nos. 13—16. On Bunsen's *Philosophy of Universal History, etc.*, by Plath.—Class 3. Nos. 9—11. On Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*, by Thomas.

Philologus (edited since Schneidewin's death by Ernst von Leutsch). Vol. x. pt. 3. *Quæstiones Messapicæ*, by C. W. Fröhner.—On the Syrian palimpsest of the *Iliad*, by W. C. Kayser.—On *Æschylus* and religious antiquities, by Fr. Wieseler.—Critical remarks on Euripides, by F. G. Schöne.—On Libanius and Hesychius, by M. Schmidt.—Herodotus' recitations, by A. Schöll.—On Hesychius, by E. v. Leutsch.—Explanation of the Epitaphios in Thucyd. ii. 35—46, by H. Krahner.—De rerum *Ægyptiacarum scriptoribus Græcis ante Alexandrum Magnum*, by A. von Gutschmid.—On the internal connexion of Hor. *Epist.* i. 16, by W. H. Kolster.—*Babrii, fab. 123, 1; de Musæi proœmio; Joannis Stobæi Florilegium; in Martialis Epigrammata*, by Th. Røeper.—*Rome and the Ramnes*, by C. W. Fröhner.—On Herodotus, by C. Abicht.—On *Xen. Hellen.*, by Tell.

Reuter's Repert. f. d. theol. Litter. Berlin, 1856.—May. On Lichtenstein's *Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, by Nügelsbach. On Hilgenfeld's *Origin of the Gospels, &c.*, by

Histlin. On Noack's and Meier's *Histories of Doctrines*, by Sprinkhardt. On Otte's *Handbook of mediæval ecclesiastical archaeology*, by Pelt.—June. On Elster's *Comm. in Ecclesiastes*, by Nögelsbach.—July. On Braselmann's *Messianic Genealogy*, by Schultze.—Aug. On Olshausen's *Short essay, addk to the O. T.*, by Düsterdieck. On Sartori *On the Ep. to the Laod.*, by Düsterdieck. On Vogel's *Ratherius of Verona*, by Schumann. On various hymnological works, by Sarninghausen.—Sept. On Gilse's *Disputatio de...Cata'ogo, qui vulgo fragm. Murat. appellatur*, by Düsterdieck. On the Apocrypha, by Sprinkhardt.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. xi. pt. 1. The divisions of the Roman army quartered in Britain, by E. Hubner.—Critical gleanings in Alciphron's Epistles, by K. F. Hermann.—On the thesis of the preposition from the verb in Greek poets, especially dramatic and lyric poets, by W. Pierson.—Egyptological guesses, by X.—On Inscriptions, by Dr v. Velsen.—Contributions to orthoepy and orthography, by W. Schmitz.—On the *parodos* of the *Sept. c. Theb.*, by R. Enger.—On the *Sept. c. Theb.*, by A. Zowski.—On the so-called Fragmentum Censorini, by L. Uhlrichs. Pt. 2. Review of Friederichs' *Praxiteles und die Nibbegruppe*, and of his Essay in proof *Nationum Græcarum diversitates etiam ad artis statuariae et sculpturae discrimina valuisse*, by H. Brunn.—Archestratus of Gela, by W. Ribbeck.—On the two odes of Sappho, by F. G. Welcker.—On the thesis of the preposition from the verb, &c. (continued).—The grave of Cyrus; Seleucus, by L. Uhlrichs.—Onomatologium (Bruttidius and Brutidius); linter-linter, by F. Bücheler.—Contributions to orthography and orthoepy, by W. Schmitz.—*Homericæ* in Hesychius, by M. Schmidt.—Contributions to Æschylean criticism, by A. Lowinski, R. Enger, and F. G. Welcker.—Emendations in Plato, by F. W. Wagner.—On Tac. Hist. ii. 8, by L. Uhlrichs.

Theol. Studien u. Kritiken. Hamburg, 1856.—No. 3. The Book of Job and Dante's Divine Comedy, by Gust. Baur. What mean the names of the two pillars in Solomon's temple?, by Graf.—No. 4. The difference of the Westerns and Asia Minor on the Paschal feast, by Steltz. On the Pharisaism of Josephus, by Paret. On Matt. xxvii. 24, by Heberle. On various works on St John's writings, by Lechler. On Liliencron and Stade's *Songs from the last period of the Minnesingers*, by E. Ranke.

Zeitschr. f. d. ges. Cathol. Theol. Vienna, 1856. Vol. vii. pt. 3. On the Bohemian Brethren, by Gindely. On the apostles of the Slavonians; Cyril and Methodius, by Ginzl. On the speaking with tongues in the apostolic age, by Maier. On Hefele's *Patres Apostolici*, by Nolte.

Zeitschr. f. Protest. u. Kirche. Erlangen, 1856. June. On the history of the formation of Holy Scripture (Jac., Ep. ad Heb.). Justin Martyr and St John's Gospel, by Luthardt. The Feast of the Epiphany. (July—Sept. not forthcoming).—On the origin of Genesis, by V. von Strauss.

Zeitschrift f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft v. Cæsar. May 5, 1856. On the Chronology and Character of the Works of Praxiteles, by Friedrichs. On Hesychius, by Nauck. On the Cloaca Maxima, by Schultz. Archæological Philology, by Schubart. On *ἄρεος τοσοῦτος*, and *alter tantus*, by Funkhänel. Reviews of Bröcker's *Altröm. Geschichte*, by Gerlach; of Huschke's *Oskesch. u. Sabell. Sprachdenkmäler*, by Stier; of Müller's *Geographi Græci Minores*, by Osann. June 30. On Palæography and Criticism, by Schubart. On the three books common to the Nicom. and Eudem. Ethics, by Rieckher. On Quintilian, by Meister. On Alcman, Hipponax, Hesychius, by M. Schmidt. On the song of the *Fratres Arvales*, by Bergk. Reviews of Merkel's *Apollonius Rhodius*, by M. Schmidt; of Müller's *Geogr. Græci Min.*, by Osann; of Richter, *de supinis Latine lingue*, by Lentz. Sept. 15. Platonica II. III. by Wagner. On Alcæus, by Bergk. On Demosthenes, by Funkhänel. The religious life of the Romans, by Zeys. Hesychius, by M. Schmidt. The Erechtheum, by Petersen. Reviews of Usener's *Questiones Anaximenæ*, by Kayser; of Wüstemann's *promptuarium sententiarum*, by S.; of Müller's translation of Plato, and Wagner's *Platon's Theätet, Sophist, Staatsman*, by Feizold.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung hrg. von Dr Adalbert Kuhn. Vol. v. pt. 4. Etymological fragments, by Pott. [*φιδίττα; Σπάρτη; Χάρυβδης; Παδάμανθες; Ἀληκταί; Ἀδράστεια; Τισιφώνη*, etc.; *Διόσκοροι, Διόσκουροι; Φοῖβος, Φοῖβη*.]—Gothic studies, by Ebel.—On the accent in Latin by Benary.—Miscellanea: 1. *vēti-vitis*; 2. *buñda*. By Spiegel.—Pt. 5. The old names of diseases among the Indo-Germans, by A. Pictet.—Gothic studies, by H. Ebel.—*ἥπιος, ἀνθρωπος*, by Th. Aufrecht.—Monosyllabic nouns in Greek and Latin, by Leo Meyer.—Review of Zacher's "*Das gotthische Alphabet Vulphilas und das Runenalphabet*," by A. Kuhn.—Miscellanea: 1. *auriga*, 2. *ruo*, 3. *veru*, 4. *vagus*. By H. Ebel.—1. *ῥερεγκῆσφωρj, asparagus*. 2. *Πάρις, πέρχ*. By Spiegel.—Greek derivatives from the root of the relative, by C. Lottner.—1. *Demum, denique, donec*. 2. *Barba*.—1. Root *μανδ*. 2. *Μούσα*.—German etymologies. By the same.—*Auhns, aḡmantam, kamna*, by Schleicher.—*peritus, ambitus*, by Kuhn.—Pt. 6. Old-Italian. 1. The Umbrian conjugation. 2. HER. 3. ES and FU. 4. The enclitics—*pid, pei, que*. 5. *pert* and *per*. 6. Suffix *-ioa* and *-tion*. 7. Queries and hints, by Ebel. *Denken* and *sprechen*, by Leo.—Review of recent philological publications (among others of French [sic] *Synonyms of the New Testament*, p. 441), by Kuhn and Ebel.—Review of Dietrich's program "*De Vocalium quibusdam in lingua latina affectionibus*," by Corssen.—Miscellanea: *cella, καλιά, hille*, by Kuhn.—*vulfas, vigas*, by Grohmann.—Index of things. Index of words.

List of New Books.—Foreign.

- Æschylos Agamemnon*. Erklärt v. F. W. Schneidewin. 8vo. pp. lv. and 260. Berlin, Weidmann. 1½ Thlr.
- Kruse, Car., de *Æschyli CEdipodea*. 8vo. pp. 72. Sundiæ (Löffler) 12 Ngr.
- Alciphronis rhetoris epistolæ*. Recensuit, cum Bergleri integris, Meinekii, Wagneri, aliorum selectis suisque annotationibus edidit, indices adjecit E. E. Seiler. Ed. nova. 8vo. pp. xlv. and 494. Lipsiæ, Hinrichs. 2 Thlr.
- Aristophanis nubes*. Edidit illustravit præfatus est Prof. W. S. Teuffel. 8vo. pp. 194. Lipsiæ, Teubner. 24 Ngr.
- Arrian's Anabasis*. Für Schüler zum öffentlichen u. Privatgebrauch hrg. v. Dr Glob. Hartmann. Vol. 2, 8vo. pp. 194. Jena, Mauke. 12 Ngr.
- Ascherson, Dr Ferd.*, de parodo et epiparodo tragœdiarum græcarum. 8vo. pp. 31. Berolini, Gaertner. 6 Ngr.
- Assen, C. J. van*, Adnotatio ad Gaii institutionum commentarium secundum, Fasc. II. 8vo. pp. xxii. and 121. Lugd. Bat., Brill. ½ Thlr.
- Athenagoræ Atheniensis philosophi Christiani supplicatio pro Christianis etc.* Accedunt lat. versio, emendationes, varr. lect. atque annotationes. Cura et studio Dr Ludw. Paul. 8vo. pp. viii. and 119. Halis, Pfeffer. 24 Ngr.
- Auctoris incerti chronica montis sereni*. Ex cod. Freheriano recensuit Dr F. A. Eckstein. 4to. pp. vi. and 211. Halis, libr. orphanotrophei. 2 Thlr.
- Az—Zamaksarii lexicon geographicum*, . . . quod auspice viro clarissimo T. G. J. Juyaboll e. cod. Leyd. nunc primum ed. Matth. Salverda de Grave. 8vo. pp. 232. Lugd. Bat. Brill. 1½ Thlr.
- Bake, Joh.*, de emendendo Ciceronis oratore ad M. Brutum. 4to. pp. 82. Lugd. Bat. Brill. 1½ Thlr.
- Balde, Jac.*, carmina lyrica. Edidit Franc. Hipler. 16mo. pp. lii. and 384. Monasterii, Theissing. 20 Ngr.
- Bamberger, F.*, Opuscula philologica maximam partem *Æschylea* collegit F. G. Schneidewin. Præmissa est memoria F. Bambergeri a G. T. A. Kruegero conscripta. 8vo. pp. xxxix. and 270. Lipsiæ, Teubner. 1½ Thlr.
- Baur, Dr Ferd. Frid.*, de Tacitea Tiberii imagine disputatio. 4to. pp. 29. Tubingæ, Fues. 8 Ngr.

- Bechor—Schor, R. Jos., Commentar zum Pentateuch. Nach e. Handschrift der königl. Hofbibliothek in München hrg. v. Adf. Jellinek. Pt. 1. (Genesis and Exodus.) 8vo. pp. 159. Leipzig, Gerhard. 1 Thlr.
- Becker, Dr Paul, die herakleotische Halbinsel in archäologischer Beziehung behandelt. Mit zwei Karten. 8vo. pp. 102. Leipzig, Teubner. 24 Ngr.
- Becker, W. A., Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer nach den Quellen bearb. Fortgesetzt v. J. Marquardt. Pt. 4, 8vo. pp. viii. and 569. Leipzig, Hirzel. 2½ Thlr.
- Behr, Baron, recherches sur l'histoire des temps héroïques de la Grèce. 8vo. Paris, Didot. 7 fr.
- Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der arischen, celtischen u. slavischen Sprachen. Hrg. v. A. Kuhn u. A. Schleicher. Pt. 1. 8vo. pp. 128. Berlin, Dümmler. 1 Thlr.
- Bibliographie für Linguistik u. orientalische Literatur. Hrg. v. F. A. Brockhaus. Zusammengestellt v. Paul Tzömel. 1 Jahrg. 1856. 4 Nrn. 8vo. Leipzig, Brockhaus. ¼ Thlr.
- Bibliotheca Tamulica s. opera præcipua Tamulensium, edita, translata adnotationibus glossariisque instructa a Dr Car. Graul. Tom. iii. Der Kural des Tiruvalluver. Ein gnomisches Gedicht üb. die drei Strebeziele des Menschen. 8vo. pp. xxiii. and 196. Leipzig, Dörffling and Franke. 1½ Thlr.
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- Bohtlingk, Otto, u. Rud. Roth., Sanskrit-Wörterbuch hrg. v. der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Pt. ii. sect. 1. 4to. pp. 161. St Petersburg. (Leipzig, Voss.) 1 Thlr.
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Announcements.

Of Didot's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Græcorum* the following Vols. are in the press. *Ælianus*, Philo Byzantius and Porphyrius, by Hercher; *Æopius*, Babrius, &c., by Dübner; *Anthologia Græca*, with corrections by Jacobs; *Athenæus*, new text by W. Dindorf, and translation by Bothe; *Dionysius Hal.*, *Hist. Rom.* by Ritschl; *Opera rhetorica*, by Sauppe; *Julianus*, by Dübner; *Longinus*, by Egger; *Oracula Sibyllina*, by Alexandre; *Paræmiographi*, by Leutsch; *Philosophorum Græcorum Fragmenta*, by Mullach; *Poetæ lyrici*, by Nauck; *Procopius*, by Dubeux; *Stobæus*, by W. Dindorf; *Theophrastus*, by Wimmer.—Dr Tischendorf announces "*Monumenta sacra inedita*. Vol. ii. *Fragmenta Evang. Lucæ et libri Genesis ex tribus codd. græcis quinti sexti octavi sæculi, uno palimpsesto ex Libya in Museum Britannicum advecto, altero celeberrimo Cottoniano ex flammis erepto, tertio ex Oriente nuperrime Oxon. perlato. Addita sunt et novi et vet. Test. fragmenta similia nuperrime in codicum sex antiquissimorum reliquiis inventa.*" Hinrichs, Leipzig. 4to. 16 Thlr.; also "*Bibliotheca Patrum manualis, Optimis subsidiis adhibitis edendam curavit Constantinus Tischendorf.*" [The publishers, Dörffling and Franke, Leipzig, promise that all printed collations, &c. shall be used, and in many cases MSS. consulted. The more important variations of reading will be noted, and particular attention will be paid to the quotations from the Bible. Prolegomena and indices will accompany each volume. The series, without altogether excluding Latin authors, will chiefly consist of Greek fathers.]—Mr J. M. Kemble announces a revised edition of his "*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*," to be published in two volumes. [See the "*Notes and Queries*" of Sat. Nov. 22.]—Dr Duncan Macpherson announces "*Antiquities of Kertch, and Researches in the Cimmerian Bosphorus*," to be published by Smith and Elder. 4to. 30s.

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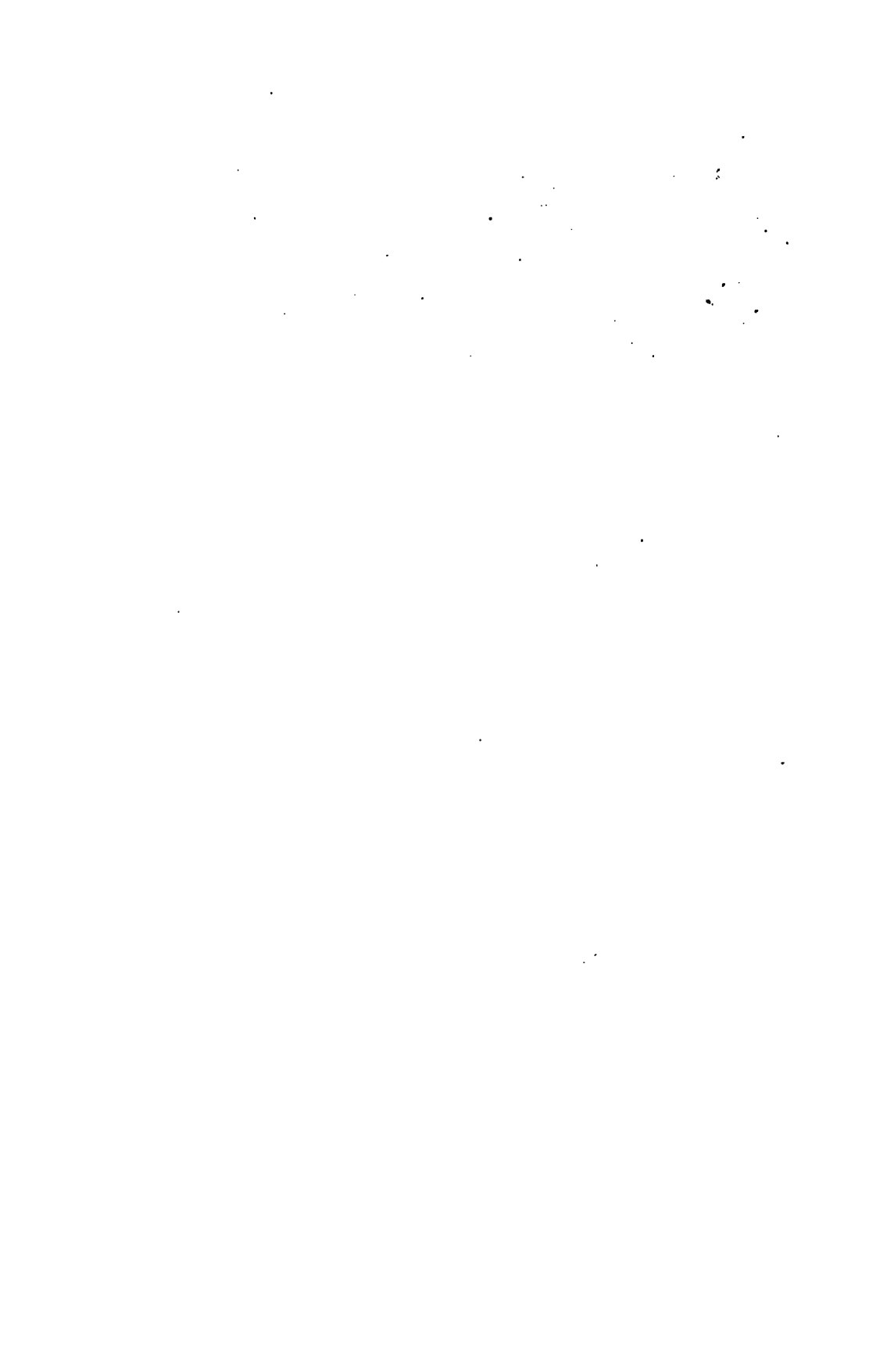
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